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This is the special study authorized by the Commission as a case study of language units. It requires revision but it is being circulated now as a working paper rather than a report since the material may be useful during the current preparation of Volume II of the Commission Report.


Meyer Brownstone.

A STUDY OF ENGLISH-FRENCH WORK RELATIONS
IN THE CBC.

Report Prepared for the Royal Commission
On Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Barry Thompson

November 22, 1966



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INTRODUCTION

The patterns and extent of ethnic participation in

The Commission collected the data used in this report by guaranteeing anonymity to the respondents. I have therefore used pseudonyms throughout.

Commission. It has been pointed out that one possible

reason might be the strategic placement of various

Language Units throughout the Civil Service. Such

separate for ethnic might help to protect French-

speaking employees from the danger of too much ex-

posure to English-Canadian work practices, cultural

misunderstanding, and language. An equally important

benefit of the FLU would be the function in stimulating

English-speaking Canadians to know more of their ethnic

groups in bilingualism. The FLU would, at the same time,

give the French language a more important and recognized

place within the Civil Service. It is to be hoped that

a bilingual organizational ethic could then emerge as a

pragmatic necessity where it has failed to come forth as

a clear requirement of justice.

The critical question this report deals with

is simply can such a mechanism work, and if not, what are

the conditions which encourage its failure?

It is suggested that groups within the Commission

INTRODUCTION

The patterns and extent of ethnic participation in the organizational life of this country poses a number of vexing problems. The inequalities and injustices these patterns imply are the immediate concern of the Commission. It has been postulated that one partial solution might be the strategic placement of "French Language Units" throughout the Civil Service. Such cohorts (of FLU's) might hopefully protect French-speaking employees from the ravages of too sudden exposure to English-Canadian work practices, cultural understandings, and language. An equally important benefit of the FLU would be its function in stimulating English-speaking Canadians to honour some of their obligations to bilingualism. The FLU would, at the minimum, allow the French language to gain important and recognized usage within the Civil Services. It is to be hoped that a bilingual organizational elite could then emerge as a pragmatic necessity where it has failed to come forth as a basic requirement of justice.

The critical question this report deals with is simply can such a mechanism work, and if so, what are the conditions which encourage its vigour? Evidence suggested that groups within the Ottawa Area of Regional

Broadcasting, CBC, did work extensively in French. From this lead, an attempt has been made to isolate such groups, and to infer from their operation the necessary conditions of their linguistic integrity. Many of the characteristics of the FLU have yet to be defined. Thus I have merely looked for groups in which the spontaneously developed relations of work possess the linguistic properties demanded by the FLU concept. Any other requirements had to be ignored.

SOURCES

The Commission has formulated the considerable amount of research done on the CBC from varied perspectives, with varied goals in mind. The depth of the split between networks makes much of this information irrelevant for our purposes. The Career Study interviews of the Ottawa Area of the CBC, however, furnish much interesting, if unsystematic data on the operations of this department. It is from this source that I have drawn the bulk of my data.

The first section of this report is a simple descriptive analysis of the information coded from the CBC interviews. This includes questions concerning the social background of attitudes of the respondents. The second section takes up the problem of the FLU in a more direct way.

Limitations arise in doing so. For one thing, the picture is far from complete. The lower limit of all the Career Studies falls approximately at the \$6000 per annum level. Seventy-five percent of the employees are thereby eliminated. A second difficulty is that the English side is represented by a fifty percent sample. This limits us in piecing together the organizational factors we are seeking since in some cases people who supervise a number of French Canadians were not interviewed.

Also important for this second part is that the questions asked were not primarily designed to gain information pertinent to an organizational study. This is not as crippling as might be imagined when the interviews were well administered and well reported. The calibre of reporting was not uniformly maintained throughout. As a result, the necessary data does not always come through. Interviews done in some areas of the French CBC are particularly lacking in this respect.

On the positive side, almost all of the French officials at senior levels were interviewed. By consulting formal hierarchy charts, by the respondents' descriptions of language use, and through the use of random remarks in other interviews, it was possible to overcome most of these shortcomings. It should be understood that the specific details of the linguistic patterns could be in error, but that the overall picture is reasonably accurate.

PART IDESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

The Career Study interviews of the CBC have been partially coded. This data has been used to develop tables that were of particular concern to other CBC studies, and were therefore included in the terms of reference of this study. The tables are arranged to get at specific questions, and it is only these questions (with very few additions) that have been dealt with. Interpretation is sketchy. There are several reasons for this. The figures, in themselves, are relatively meaningless without comparable statistics from the other Career Studies. The small number of respondents limits the number of controls that can fruitfully be introduced. In addition, some areas of the questionnaire have not been coded. All of these reasons limited analysis, but perhaps the most important factor was a lack of time.

This kind of analysis, even when done under the most precise techniques, is necessarily crude and ponderous. Almost all aspects of the social organization of work are ignored in favour of attitudes and backgrounds of the respondents. The dynamic aspect is lost in the

positivistic rigour of the analysis. I hope to illustrate that the structure of relationships within the work milieu provides the powerful insights into the important mechanisms of interaction. This methodological assumption encouraged me to pour my efforts into the second part of this study, to the detriment of this section. Considering the limitations to analysis, I am confident that my approach was justified.

Although I have done a strict minimum of coding, I have in every case used the categories of all the Career Studies. Definitions can be quickly looked up in the coding manuals if they are not elaborated in sufficient detail in the body of the paper. Although it was necessary to collapse some cells, this is clearly indicated by the numbers of the categories. Comparisons with the other similar tables can therefore be made.

Social Background

In considering the social background of the respondents it is important to realize that the sample includes only the top quarter, by income, of the Ottawa Area. Also important is the kind of organization the CBC is -- one that has recently experienced a rapid expansion, in a field in which there are few formally organized training

courses of any real relevance. Many of the respondents, especially on the English side, seem to have worked their way up through a series of technical or production positions. The more exalted positions have been reserved, as is usual, for scions on the 'better families', that is, those who could afford to send their children to universities and colleges. Table I shows the differing social origins of the two groups.

TABLE I

Social Class Origins of English and French Respondents, CBC, Ottawa Area, Regional Broadcasting.

	FC		EC	
	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>
Upper Middle Class	24	8	40	16
Middle Middle Class	33	11	28	11
Working Class	42	14	33	13
Total	99	33	101	40

The high proportion of English Canadian Upper Middle Class respondents seems to reflect an informal hiring procedure within Production, and to a lesser extent, News, on the English side. These positions are held down for a relatively short time, being used to gain both valuable experience and contacts. The sons of working class families tend to be found in stage design and the technical aspects of CBC operations. Promotion on the French side seems to be much more evident in production than in these semi-artistic endeavours.

Both groups come from amazingly similar sized towns, 26% of each coming from cities over 250,000. The largest number of each group grew up in towns between 50,000 and 250,000 in population.

All the French Canadians are Roman Catholics, as are 23% of the English Canadians. Eighteen per cent of the English claim no religion, a surprisingly high percentage.

Table II shows the educational attainment claimed by the respondents.

TABLE IIEducational Attainment of English and French Groups

	FC		EC	
	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>
Some High School	33	13	35	14
High School Grad	--	--	18	7
Some University	46	18	30	12
University Grad	10	4	3	1
Post Grad	8	3	15	6
Undetermined	3	1	--	--
Total	100	39	101	40

It is evident that a high number of the respondents have managed to climb into the top quarter of the Ottawa Area with relatively low educations. The French have been nearly as successful at this as the English although the French tend to be considerably better educated than the English. An important consideration here is the language of education.

TABLE III

Language of Education, controlled for ethnicity
and locale of latest education.*

Language	Quebec**	Ottawa &		EC
		FC	Other	
All or most in Own (1, 2, 3)	86% (13)		52% (11)	93% (37)
Mixed (4, 5)	14% (2)		29% (6)	2% (1)
Most in Other (6, 7, 8)	--		20% (4)	5% (2)
Total	100% (15)		101% (21)	100% (40)

*-- Coded by the analyst in order to gain an indicator of origin more recent than birth.

**-- Does not include Ottawa-Hull educated French Canadians. The few Franco-Ontariens etc. were added to the locals. Their numbers are not considerable.

If education is an important transmitter of cultural perspectives, then the local French Canadians have been much less protected than their Quebec counterparts. The language of previous work history reinforces this pattern.

TABLE IV

Language of Previous Work History

Language	Quebec	Ottawa &		EC
		FC	Other	
Work in own language (1,2,3)	53% (8)		38% (8)	81% (32)
Work in Other language (4,5)	27% (4)		53% (11)	2% (1)
No Previous Work	20% (3)		10% (2)	17% (7)
Total	100% (15)		101% (21)	100% (40)

The length of previous work experience outside the CBC is another important variable in the social background of the respondents.

TABLE V

Length of Previous Work History Outside CBC

	Quebec	FC Ottawa & Other	EC
None	14% (2)	5% (1)	18% (7)
5 or less	43% (6)	30% (6)	25% (10)
6 - 10	21% (3)	50% (10)	23% (9)
Over 10	21% (3)	15% (3)	35% (14)
Total	99% (14)	100% (20)	101% (40)

This supports the contention that relatively more of the English have arisen through long service and acquired skill outside govt. service. The Quebec French have typically joined the CBC with relatively little experience, but higher education. The local French again differ radically from those from Quebec.

What kinds of prior careers have the two groups had? The "career disorder index" provides some sort of answer. A high index score reveals a high degree of job switching, especially from one area to another. A low score indicates an enduring relationship with one employer.

TABLE VI

Career Disorder Index Score

	FC		EC	
	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>
Low (0-4)	36	14	40	16
Medium (5-9)	38	15	53	21
High (Over 10)	18	7	8	3
Undetermined	8	3	--	--
Total	100	39	101	40

The French Canadians have tended to have more disorderly careers than their English-speaking colleagues. An important aspect of the English figure for highly disorderly careers is the fact that many of them have taken a number of disparate jobs for experience and 'contacts', as outlined earlier. These occupational butterflies raise the English

score, but are not comparable to the French high disorderlies. These men have likely taken a good deal of "career buffeting", and seek security and an escape from pressure. By contrast, the English disorderlies seek exciting jobs and scorn security. They already have it.

Age is an aspect of social background that we should consider.

TABLE VII

Age of Respondents, classified by ethnic group.

Age	Quebec	FC	Ottawa & Other	EC
Under 30	21% (3)	5%	(1)	8% (3)
30 - 34	42% (6)	33%	(7)	26% (10)
35 - 39	14% (2)	24%	(5)	34% (13)
40 - 44	21% (3)	24%	(5)	16% (6)
45 - 49		10%	(2)	5% (2)
Over 49	-- --	5%	(1)	11% (4)
Total	98% (14)	101%	(21)	100% (38)

The Quebec contingent of the French group is considerably younger than either the local French or the English. This supports our picture of the young, well educated, linguistically sheltered (relatively) French Canadians which

are coming into the CBC. The second part of this report will show the significance of this development.

Since this group come from Quebec, it might be interesting to compare the English and French groups in regard to geographical moves.

TABLE VIII

Geographical Moves Prior to CBC Work History

Number of moves	Quebec	FC	Ottawa & Other	EC
None	14% (2)	5%	(1)	26% (9)
One	14% (2)	20%	(4)	6% (2)
Two	36% (5)	20%	(4)	15% (5)
Three	7% (1)	10%	(2)	18% (6)
Four +	29% (4)	45%	(9)	36% (12)
Total	100% (14)	100%	(20)	101% (34)

The Quebec group, despite the near necessity of moving to Ottawa, has shifted less than the 'Other' French, who have been more mobile, geographically, than the English. This reinforces our picture of the Quebec French as competent professionals with career goals in mind.

The situation reverses itself, however, when geographical moves within the CBC are considered.

TABLE IX

Geographical Moves Within the CBC

	Quebec	FC Ottawa & Other	EC
None	56% (9)	70% (16)	50% (20)
One	25% (4)	22% (5)	28% (11)
Two	-- --	-- --	15% (6)
Three +	6% (1)	4% (1)	8% (3)
Undetermined	13% (2)	4% (1)	-- --
Total	100% (16)	100% (23)	101% (40)

Within the CBC, the Quebec group is much more mobile than the Ottawa-Hull French, and as mobile as the English group. Since a geographical move within the CBC usually is accompanied by a promotion, these young men seem to be moving up the career ladders rather quickly. (These promotions, however, need not take the form of a higher formal position. Rather, for production people, it could mean a better class of show. Usually some inducement is used to recompense the employee for tearing up his roots.)

The reasons people give for joining the CBC can support this point. A small percentage of the Quebec French have entered Radio-Canada for reasons of security. Twice as many of the Ottawa-Hull French respondents were seeking security, and a full third of the English fell into this category, the largest segment of all the groups. This contradicts, to some extent, the implications of the Career Disorder Index for the English (Table VI).

TABLE X

Reasons for Joining the CBC.

	Quebec	FC Ottawa & Other	EC
Career Reasons (2, 4, 6, 7)	57% (8)	46% (11)	40% (16)
Security Reasons (1, 3, 5)	14% (2)	29% (7)	35% (14)
Other	14% (2)	13% (3)	15% (6)
Not Indicated	14% (2)	13% (3)	10% (4)
Total	99% (14)	101% (24)	100% (40)

When the location of the English respondents is taken into consideration, this finding is not surprising. As earlier reported, many more of them are in positions in graphic design, etc., where considerations of career are in some cases seen as 'subversive'. The technicians, too, seem to have joined for non-career reasons in many cases. The prospect of promotions opens itself up only in later stages of their CBC work experience. The technicians seem to be disproportionately made up of English Canadians.

There is, then, a relative focussing of French Canadians in administrative 'line' positions that is reflected in the reasons for choosing the CBC as a place to work.

This concludes our brief look at the social background of the respondents. It will be profitable to summarize our findings. The English group comes disproportionately from the 'upper middle classes', that is from professional families, in which the father has at least some university training. Despite this advantage, the English group has collectively lower educational attainment than the French. Their education has been almost totally in English, as has their prior work experience. A high proportion of the English group has come to the CBC from long-term jobs with other corporations. Few of them have been guilty

of considerable job switching, despite this long period of prior work. (Median prior job history for the English and Other French is 7.4 years and for the French from Quebec 4.2 years.)

It would be useful to separate the English into two groups. The administrative people tend to be older than the other groups, better educated than all but the Quebec French, and trying to climb further up the administrative ladder. The staff people, for the most part, have risen through hard work and on-the-job training. Depending upon the function of the particular staff, they may or may not be seeking promotions. In news, production, set design and such departments, there is no desire to climb the corporation hierarchy. In the more typical staff areas, however, there is.

The French can similarly be divided into two groups, and along the same lines. Our analyses of the differences between the Quebec and 'other' French provides us with clues to the differences between the careerists and those who are primarily seeking a comfortable living. The youth, education, and vigour of the careerists would suggest that it is here that we will find the sentiments of the "qui et revolution".

Assimilation

The remaining important issue I wish to deal with in this section is the problem of assimilation to an English milieu. The career study analysts have developed an "Assimilation Index" which enables us to trace some of the factors contributing to this phenomenon. The index was developed to ascertain . . . the

strength of the tendency which French respondents may have to accommodate themselves to and participate in various areas of English culture which are not connected with work institutions. (Coding Manual)

The index is made up of four factors, (1) ethnicity of wife and (2) friends, (3) type of schools the respondent chooses for his children, and (4) the area of residence. The scores can run from four to twenty-four.

Difficulties exist in this index. It ignores the effect of work on assimilation. This is undoubtedly the main way in which many French respondents are brought into contact with the English culture and language. This section will attempt to indicate the role the Ottawa-Hull milieu, and work in the CBC, plays in the process of "anglicization".

Six per cent of the English interviews claim that their 'maternal tongue' was French. Another three or four of the French sample were interviewed with great difficulty in that language. This suggests that the number should be revised upwards.

Marital choice is one indicator of assimilation.

TABLE XI

Ethnicity of Spouse.

Ethnicity of Spouse	FC	EC
English	3% (1)	61% (23)
French	94% (29)	11% (4)
Other	3% (1)	26% (10)
Not Indicated	-- --	3% (1)
Total	100% (31)	101% (38)

This indicates that there is some cross-over between the two groups, but that it is primarily confined to women. The sex ratio of Ottawa very likely makes it relatively easy to find a French wife. Finding a French husband might be a much greater problem.

The general level of assimilation at the CBC seems relatively low, although it should be compared with the civil service to determine if this is true.

TABLE XII

Assimilation

Index Score	%	N
Low (4 - 6)	49%	(18)
Medium (7 - 9)	41%	(15)
High (10+)	11%	(4)
Total	101%	(37)

The nature and language of work would be an important variable to consider here. We can get some idea of the importance of work as a factor of anglicization by running this index against the language of prior work history.

TABLE XIII

Effect of English Work Experience on Assimilation.

Anglicization Score	No Prior English Work Experience	Some Prior English Work Experience
Low (4 - 6)	53% (8)	56% (9)
Medium (7 - 9)	47% (7)	19% (3)
High (10+)	-- --	25% (4)
Total	100% (15)	100% (16)

The number of cases here is small, but even our rather static indicators show a shift towards more 'anglicization', that is, more non-work associations of an intimate nature with the English cultural group, as English work experience increases.

The length of service within the CBC seems to indicate, roughly the same results.

TABLE XIV

Effect of length of CBC work experience
upon Assimilation

Years of service	Anglicization		
	Low	Medium	High
0-5 years	64% (9)	29% (4)	7% (1)
6-10 years	63% (5)	25% (2)	13% (1)
Over 10 years	29% (4)	43% (6)	29% (4)

The sizes of the cells are too small to lead us to any conclusions, but I would suggest that it is surprisingly easy to work for an extended length of time in the CBC without developing some associations in the English culture. The role of the CBC as a huckster of cultural products undoubtedly plays a part here. Nevertheless, long work experience seems to cause anglicization.

We suggested earlier that a 'new wave' of 'bright young men' is being recruited into the Ottawa Area of the CBC. More senior employees tend to be local French Canadians. The second part of this paper suggests that this process of 'anglicization' is not inevitable, and that these new people are instrumental in the cultural defense of the French employees.

What effect does assimilation have upon work satisfaction? One aspect of this problem -- the perception of 'barriers' to careers -- is seen in the following table.

TABLE XV

Effect of Assimilation on Perception
of Career Barriers

Assimilation Score	No Career Barrier	Career Barrier Perceived
Low	75%* (12)	25% (4)
Medium	83%** (10)	17% (2)
High	100% (6)	--

*-- Contains 2 references to ethnic and language considerations.

**-- Contains 1 reference to ethnic considerations.

If the perceptions of career barriers are an indicator of work satisfaction, then it would seem that anglicization tends to increase work satisfaction.

Satisfaction can also be determined, in part, from the question on the respondent's satisfaction with the Ottawa area generally. The results are given in Table XVI.

TABLE XVI

Effect of Assimilation on Ottawa
Area Satisfaction

	Anglicization		
	Low	Medium	High
Strongly Pro	17% (3)	33% (4)	50% (3)
Mildly Pro	50% (9)	25% (3)	-- --
Mildly Con	6% (1)	-- --	-- --
Strongly Con	17% (3)	33% (4)	-- --
Not Indicated	11% (2)	8% (1)	50% (3)
Total	101% (18)	99% (12)	100% (6)

This table is baffling. Those who are least anglicized react in inconsistent ways. They are much less likely that^r the medium group to sing the praises of Ottawa in extreme terms. But they are more likely to be mildly favourable to Ottawa,

and less likely to be strongly against it. Of the highly assimilated group, all those that answered liked Ottawa a great deal.

Perhaps the best indicator of work satisfaction in the CBC is present commitment.

TABLE XVII

Effect of Assimilation on
Present Commitment

Level of Commitment	Anglicization		
	Low	Medium	High
High (1, 2)	17% (3)	33% (4)	33% (2)
Medium (3)	28% (5)	58% (7)	17% (1)
Low	28% (5)	8% (1)	33% (2)
Uncommitted	17% (3)	-- --	17% (1)
Not Indicated	11% (2)	-- --	-- --
Total	101% (18)	99% (12)	100% (6)

However, as we shall see, other important factors -- linguistic and cultural considerations -- are also important in determining work satisfaction. If we had enough cases to control for education, I suspect that a relationship between assimilation and work satisfaction would emerge more clearly.

It might be thought that the lure of a career would be an important factor in anglicizing French respondents. The rewards of higher positions could be purchased only by assuming the cultural understandings of the dominant group. The Auclair-Read Report deals with this question. Additional evidence can be gleaned from the CBC data.

TABLE XVIII

Reasons for joining CBC, by level of Assimilation

Anglicization Score	Career Reasons	Other Reasons
Low	33% (6)	71% (12)
Medium	56% (10)	12% (2)
High	11% (2)	18% (3)
Total	100% (18)	101% (17)

It is interesting to note that these relationships are even stronger when controlled for area of education. All three of the highly anglicized respondents who joined the CBC for "other" reasons were raised in highly English neighbourhoods outside Quebec.

In summary, assimilation seems to be related to length of work with English-speaking people and career aspirations, rather than local job considerations. It, in turn, leads to greater work satisfaction, less perceptions of career barriers, and general satisfaction with the Ottawa area, as a place to live.

PART 2

THE PAPER CBC

A consideration of the formal hierarchy of the CBC is a useful starting point in the analysis for Part 2. It should be considered to have only a partial resemblance to the actual system at work. I do not propose to juxtapose the "formal" and "informal" working relationships in evidence at the CBC. Rather, let us look at the "formal" system as the "way it is supposed to work", a set of expectations. We can then go on to look at the language patterns that have developed and their implications for actual work relationships.

Regional Broadcasting rationalizes itself along media, rather than linguistic lines. Three stations make up the Ottawa Area, and these stations do represent something of a linguistic split. However, all are administered through the "operations branch" of the Ottawa Area. This branch far exceeds all others in size (303 employees vs 70 for the next largest, "programming"). Operations thus employs all the people directly concerned with local productions and relaying network shows. The top position within that hierarchy is that of station manager.

This department is split into two sub-departments besides Radio Operations and Television Operations. These are Programme Clearance and the Night Managers, who serve in administrative positions, at different locations, on the late shift. Radio Operations, Programme Clearance and the Night Managers are all formally equal to Television Operations, although the emphasis is clearly on this latter sub-department. (Television Operations employs five times those in all other sections of Operations).

Television Operations is itself split into four functional areas, 1) Production, 2) Technical, 3) Design and Staging, and 4) Film sections. The relationships between Production and Technical seem regular, and involve a considerable amount of linguistic tension for French producers. But we are getting ahead of our story.

Within this structure, no recognition is given to the linguistic differences in the cultural product. Programme Clearance, for instance, deals directly with both the English and French networks. Despite the cleavage between these networks, Ottawa Area has clung to a "rational" model, whereby these by-posts must be handled by bilinguals. Bilingualism becomes a job requirement in some positions.

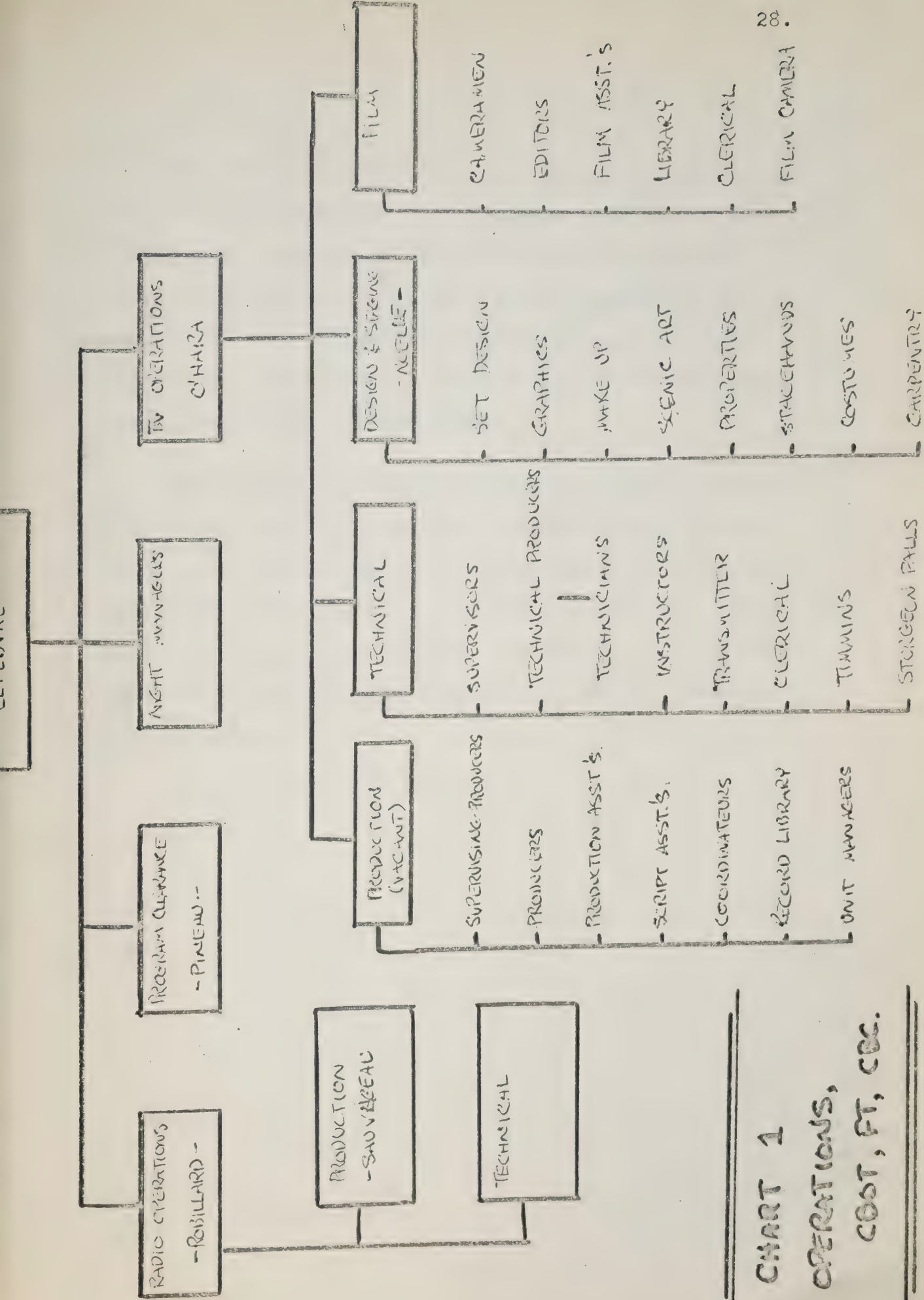
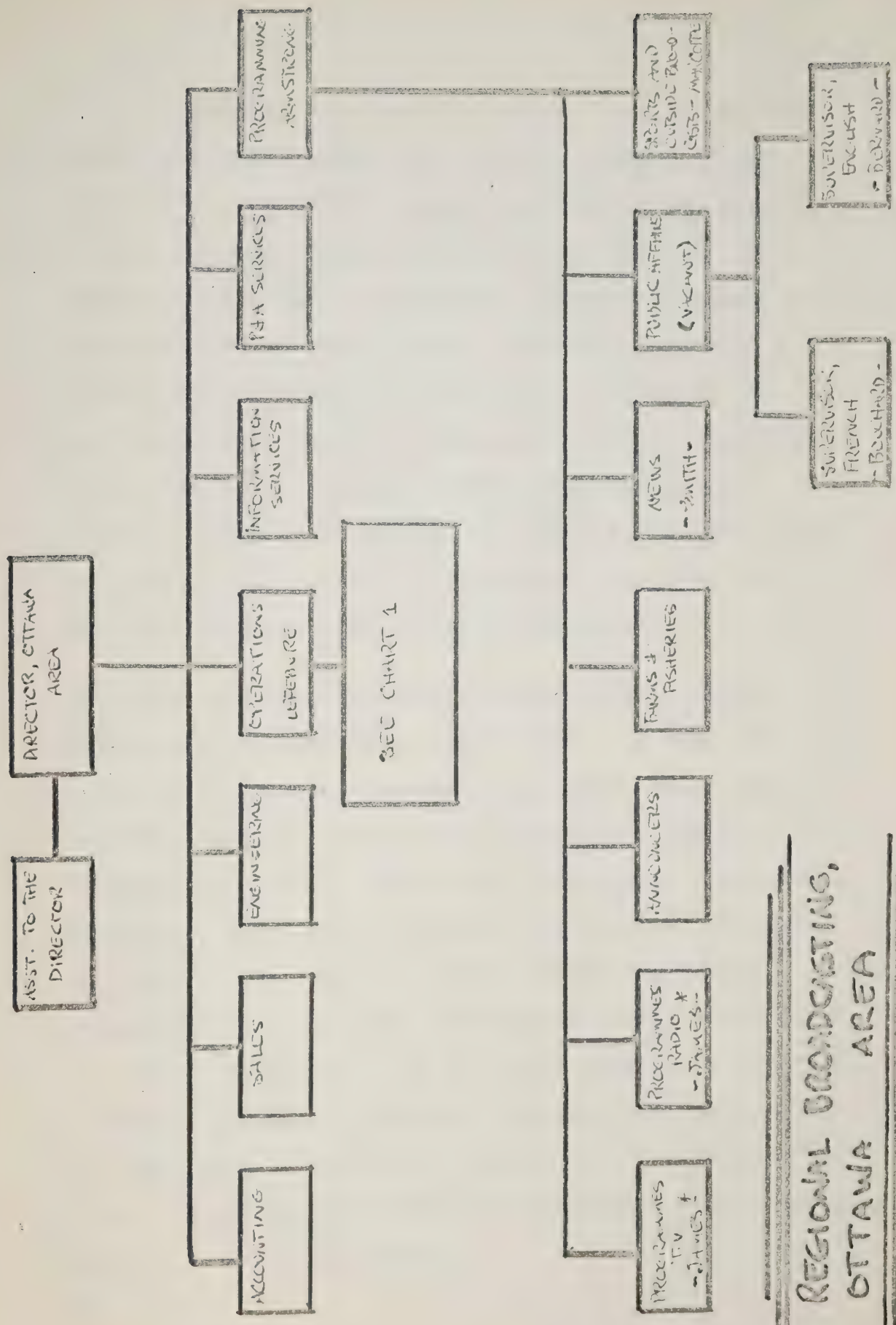


CHART 1
 OPERATIONS,
 COST, FT, CBC.

The structure outlined above is thus similar to any CBC television and radio complex, even to the fact that there is no recognition of the unique position relative to the two networks. This organization is integrated into a Regional Broadcasting, Ottawa Area, structure. The office is divided into five functional area besides that of Operations.

Most of these areas are of little interest to us, since they are small, and unilingual to a high degree. (Accounting has 22 employees, Sales 12, Engineering 29, Information Services 11, and P & A Services 39). They operate in clearly staff ways, and are thus in relatively limited interaction with operations. Not so, however, of Programming.



**REGIONAL BROADCASTING,
OTTAWA AREA**

* SAME MAN OCCUPIES BOTH POSTS

Programming represents a critical area of the CBC. These people are responsible for the content of the shows aired, especially those initiated by the Area. This is the most sensitive area within the CBC. In addition, they face the delicate problem of dealing with artistically motivated people. They are placed in a doubly sensitive spot in that they are close to the political nerve centre of the nation. Their position within the total Regional Broadcasting structure is formally the same as that of the other functional areas, but their actual position is elevated far above it. The only possible rival would be Operations.

This sector of Regional Broadcasting is, like Operations, divided along media lines. In addition, there exist parallel functional divisions which seem to be independent of these media hierarchies, and which are extremely truncated. These are, Announcers, Farms and Fisheries, News, Public Affairs, and Outside Broadcasts and Sports. Up until this point, there has been no recognition of linguistic differences within Programming, as within Operations. But in Public Affairs we have this anomalous situation corrected, however fleetingly, with de facto parallel posts for English and French networks. These are the twin positions of Supervisor, Public Affairs, English or French networks.

THE REAL CBC

The CBC cannot be considered apart from its product, popular culture. The bureaucratic method of judging the work of employees attempts to be impersonal and objective. In actual practice, bureaucrats feel most comfortable applying quantitative criteria as guides. With such a product, these criteria are almost totally lacking. The "ratings", so respected in the USA, strike at the very raison d'être of the CBC, and thus cannot be given much confidence. The problems which are bound to occur in the areas of evaluation and promotion have been overcome, to date, by rapid expansion. As the CBC stabilizes itself with regard to size, these questions will come to the fore.

This issue, in the Ottawa Area, is complicated by the English-French issue. We have seen that only one structure exists for the purpose of evaluating both linguistic groups. Given the impossibility of objective criteria, this structure can easily reflect cultural biases. The sources of these cultural biases are the differing modes of popular expression and the two wildly varying entertainment and artistic traditions involved. Even the best of good faith can do little to prevent the criteria from clashing.

It is the contention - unsupported, at this point, - that the CBC is unique only to the degree which these cultural biases exist. The criteria of evaluation, no matter how "objective" they may appear to be, are selected in reference to cultural goals and cultural understandings. The problem of biculturalism, then, is important in all bureaucracies.

We saw that Regional Broadcasting took no notice of linguistic differences in its formal structure. One structure controls both English and French productions, and evaluates both. Where there is no recognition of language, there can be no recognition of culture. I am not suggesting any determined effort to undermine either group in this argument. But strict application of the "rational" model of organization does not rest easily with duplication of functions. Standardization is a positive value. Both of these principles auger[✓] against consideration of the vague qualities we are speaking of. ✓ It is "efficiency", rather than malevolence, that has prevented formal recognition of biculturalism in the CBC.

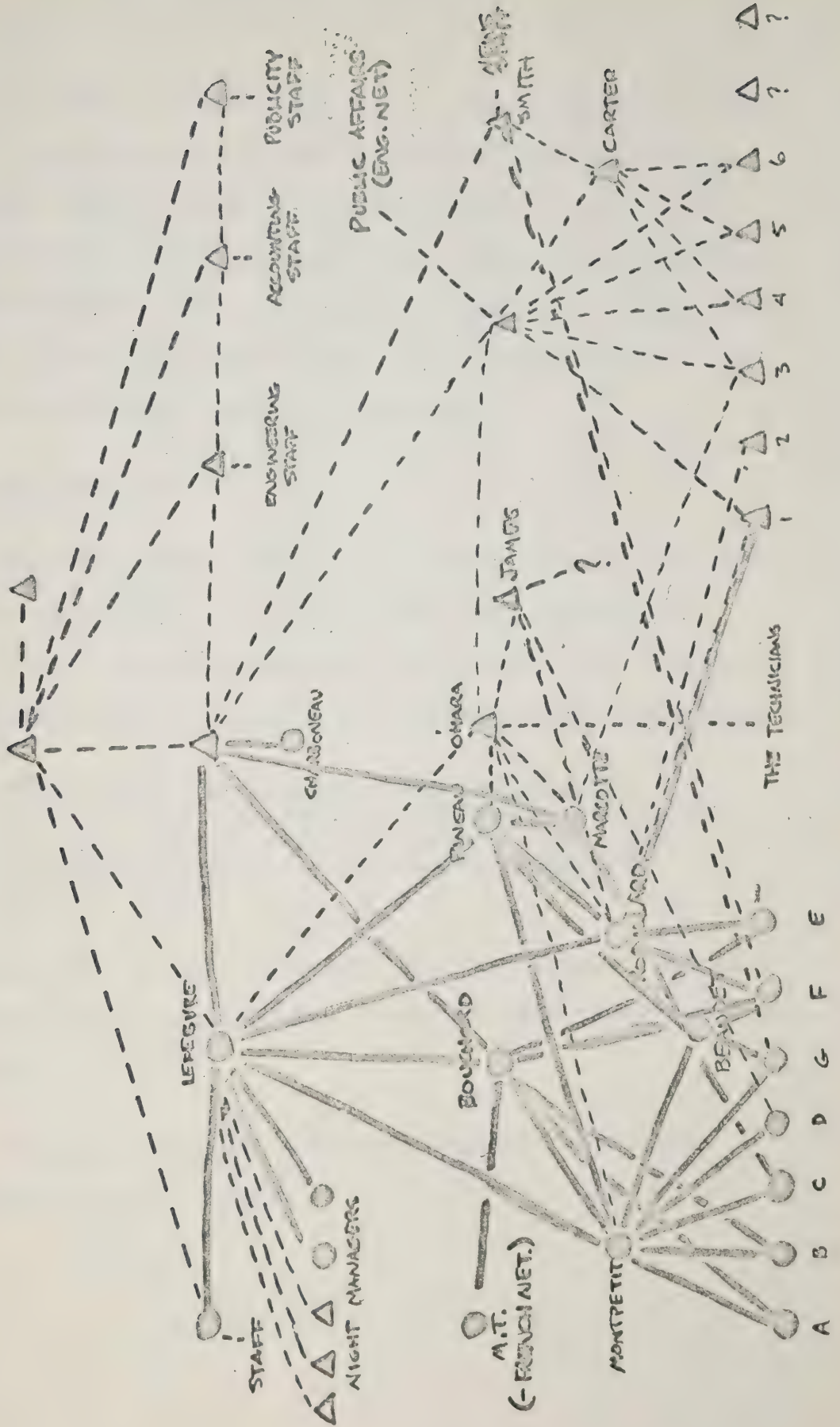
For all these reasons, it should not be surprising to find that the "Paper CBC" has been twisted to accommodate the problems that biculturalism suggests. Such has been

the case. In terms of actual data, this study has been able to gather information only on language patterns within the Ottawa Area office. Before describing these patterns, I wish to put forward the argument that due to the critical importance of cultural criteria within the CBC, the language patterns reflect more than indications of language use. Rather, the formal distinction between operations and programming has come to represent a de facto linguistic split. The linguistic split is not, however, obvious to the naked eye, since all the French involved are bilingual. We shall see that the intricate interrelations of programming and operations means that both groups play an important part in evaluating and promoting producers. The French concentration in Operations would lead French producers to look to this group for protection and support. The English, in many cases, accept the linguistic argument, that is, that they cannot judge the shows of the French producers because they lack the facility in French to do so. They would likely be willing to delegate many of their responsibilities of evaluation to the French colleagues. Given the sentiments of many of the ranking French-speaking personnel in Operations, this pattern is not only possible, but likely.

It has been possible to isolate two work units that function internally in French while in interaction with a heavily English work milieu . One of these groups, as already hinted, forms the bulk of Operations, from the producers up to the station manager. The other group, - the newsroom - is smaller, and less complicated administratively. The members of these groups do not necessarily see each other frequently, and do have a high degree of interaction with their English milieu. There are no French unilinguals among them. These two groups are not, then, FLU's in any ideal sense. The evidence suggests that unilingual French producers could not function in the CBC. The people they control and coordinate include many almost totally unilingual English. English is overwhelmingly the language of the studio. French technicians in the sample are losing - or have lost - their language. This would indicate that their "métier" is so heavily English that the French language cannot be maintained by it alone. The problem in the newsroom is exactly the opposite - unilingual superiors create the need for English.

-CBC, OTTAWA AREA, REGIONAL BROADCASTING

- FRENCH
- ENGLISH LANGUAGE
- FRENCH LANGUAGE



The focus of the first FLU is the producers. Built upon this group is a number of French-speaking administrators, most of whom are in Operations. Two are in Programming. Before going further, some idea should be gained of these men. Consultation with the various charts, which locate them both formally and linguistically, may help sort out any possible confusions.

Les réalisateurs

These producers make up the lower limit of the FLU, as far as we know. It is possible that production assistants, script-assistants and coordinating producers, associated with this group are bilingual French Canadians.

"Parmi les réalisateurs, sept de dix-sept sont bilingues, parmi les coordonnateurs quatre de sept le sont, chez les scripts, treize de dix-sept, et chez les régisseurs, quatre de sept." (12607)

The major group under them are the technicians, who use English almost exclusively, no matter what their maternal tongue.

The following chart summarizes their important characteristics. (Chart A).

CHART A

BACKGROUND OF THE FRENCH PRODUCERS

Designation	Age	Interest Area	Prov. of Origin	Education (level)	Education (language)	Barriers to Career	Degree of Commitment	English Language Skills
A	28	TV Public Affairs	P.Q.	All H.S.	Most Fr.	None	Medium	Fluent
B	30	TV Public Affairs	P.Q.	Some Univ.	All Fr.	Non-Ethnic	High	Fair
C	43	Sports	P.Q.	Some Univ.	Most Fr.	Structural	High	Fluent
D	30	T.V. Variety	Ont.	Some H.S.	Most Fr.	None	High	Fluent
E	25	Radio Pub. Affairs	Ont.	Some Post Grad.	All Fr.	None	Low	Fair
F	38	Pub. Aff. Radio	P.Q.	Ph.D.	All Fr.	None	Medium	Fluent
G	44	Variety	P.Q.	Some Tech.	All Fr.	None	Medium	Fluent

As a group, they tend to be young, and well educated in French. Their education follows the classical college pattern for those who have "some university" and above. They are highly committed to the CBC - the categories listed are deceptive. Low should be interpreted to mean only a consideration of alternatives. Morale is generally high. The group possesses good English language skills. They are largely from Quebec, and from small towns in that province. Generally speaking, they come from middle class backgrounds - defined as having fathers with white collar clerical positions and at least some high school education, but without a university degree.* Their higher education leans heavily to the humanities and social sciences in content, and they have had relatively short careers outside the CBC. Despite the direction of their education, they have tended to maintain an interest in cultural activities.

"Au Collège classique, et plus tard au Séminaire,
je m'occupais de théâtre et de mis-en-scène.
J'ai aussi participé à des groupes de chant."
(12603)

"... j'ai été membre de la Société des Débats;
j'ai été dans l'exécutif de la Société. J'ai aussi
été dans la Société dramatique..." (12604)

* Coding Manual.

Others took part in theatre, and semi-artistic enterprises such as figure skating.

Les réalisateurs express a vague desire to retire to an administrative job after their creative impulses have vanished. For the present, however, such jobs are seen as deadening routine of little interest.

Their major complaint, as suggested earlier, is that unilingual English administrators are placed in critical positions regarding their work. Interestingly enough, this complaint does not lead to the perception of linguistic or ethnic barriers to their careers, nor does it seem to be strongly related to either their linguistic ability or their present commitment to the CBC. These unilinguals are not accused of interference in work, and the tone is one of rebellious disrespect or offended justice, not one of resigned alienation.

"On a des patrons unilingues anglais; ils ne comprennent rien aux émissions et ce sont eux qui sont juges de notre production française..."
(16622)

"... on n'exigera pas d'un Canadien anglais qui travaille au réseau anglais d'Ottawa qu'il soit bilingue. C'est une injustice." (12605)

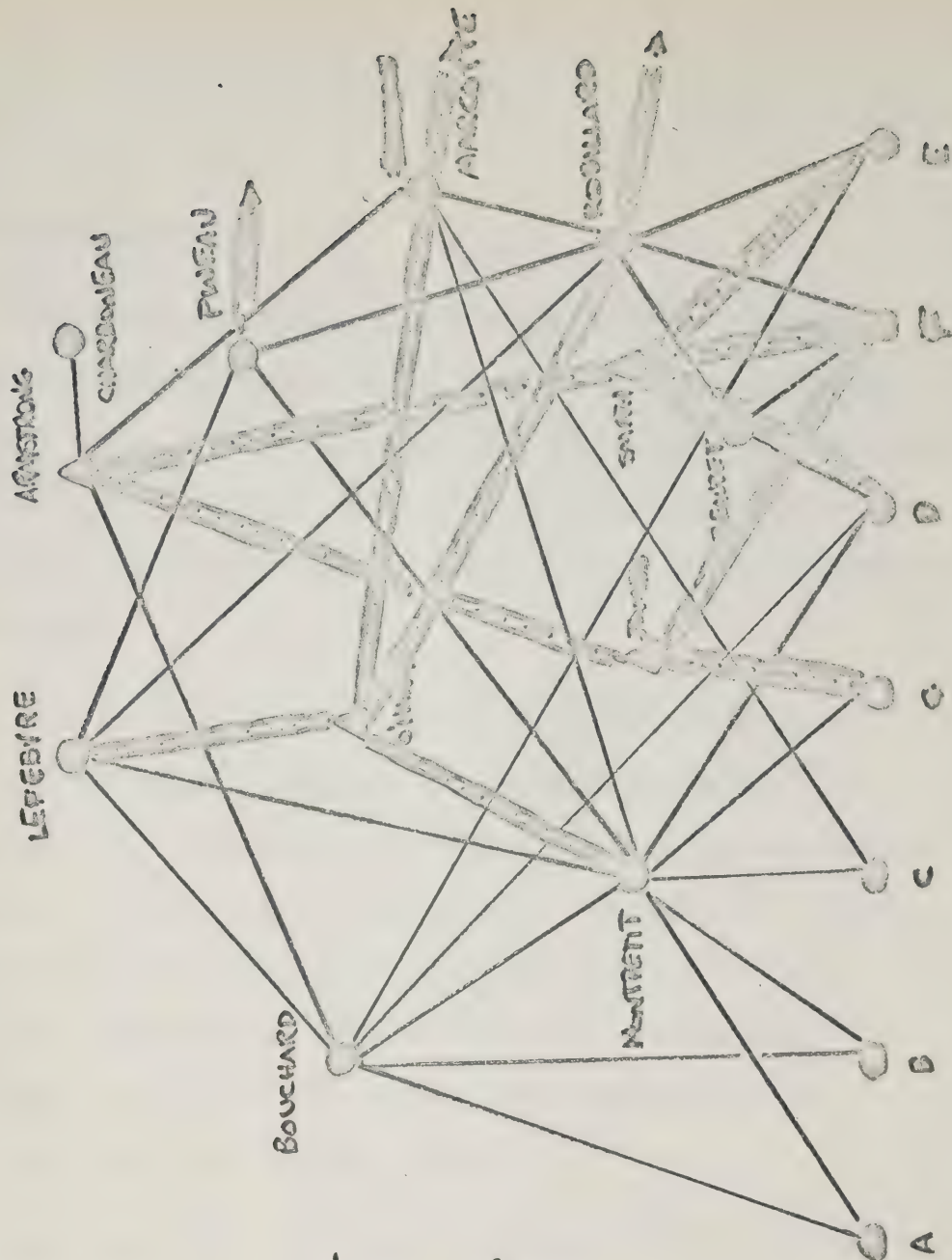
It is a contention of this report that this very issue serves as a unifying ideology, rather than a reflection of a real career threat. This will be elaborated later.

— FRENCH LANGUAGE

△ ENGLISH OFFICE - HOLDER

○ FRENCH OFFICE - HOLDER

THE "RÉALISATEURS" FLU # 1



Les Administrateurs

The most critically placed administrators (from the producer's point of view) are a less diverse group. They are more highly educated than the producers and tend to be slightly older. At a level, formally, over the producers are the operations people, Montpetit, Robillard and Beaudet.

Montpetit, 35, is a French immigrant charged with supervising French-speaking television producers. A recipient of a Baccalaureat from Toulouse, he has received extensive experience in production. He has had language problems in the past, but feels that they have been virtually overcome at this point. He looks forward to an auspicious future as Bouchard's* replacement or in New York, with the French network.

Robillard, 51, is from the Ottawa area. His education, totally in French, was terminated prematurely during the depression. He has risen through a series of technical posts to supervisor of radio operations. He sees no advancement beyond this point, and seems content to remain where he is.

* "Bouchard" will be dealt with later.

Beaudet, 43, is "agent de l'exploitation des programmes", a position of coordination and administration centering on the less imaginative, and routine kinds of broadcasts. A Franco-Manitoban, with extensive English work experience, he does not feel any solidarity with the French group, or French Canadians in general. His Manitoba, French immigrant background may explain this.

Above this group, formally, are Pineau and O'Hara. Pineau, 34, is fluently bilingual, although his maternal tongue is English. He occupies a liaison post with both networks, and has direct influence over the producers, through scheduling facilities. He sees his career success tied to linguistic considerations. Replying to the question of possible career blocks, he says:

Si le poste devenait plus anglais que français,
il y aurait un problème... Tout dépend du
gérant, du directeur, c'est assez fragile. (13610)

His future is tied to the French group.

O'Hara, 39, is probably a functional bilingual. Educated at the University of Ottawa (philosophy), and a Roman Catholic, he is probably culturally closer to the French than other English administrators. He seems to understand, in a vague sort of way, the cultural problems involved in bi-ethnic work situations.

... (senior personnel) should have a working knowledge of both languages... The English networks would be able to understand the raison d'être of the French network programmes and vice versa... (54601)

This man occupies a key post within the work structures of the Ottawa area. He coordinates all the operations activities concerned with television. However, he very likely sticks to the technical aspects of his work. He admits that if he has programming ideas, he feeds them to Lefebvre. Something of a "yes-man", he lightens the Station Manager's load while not intruding into policy or evaluative areas.

Lefebvre sits at the top of the Operations hierarchy. Fluently bilingual, this Montrealer received his "diplôme en science" in 1943, and quit his initial job with the CNR because "... un jour on m'a dit: 'Sacre ton camp du CNR, il n'y a pas de place pour les Canadiens français dans cette compagnie'." He keenly feels his ethnic-linguistic identity.

... j'ai dû décliner (une offre très alléchante) pour des raisons familiales... J'insiste sur cette question, parce que même s'il existe à Toronto des écoles françaises, je crois que la ville de Londres est encore mieux équipée en écoles françaises que la ville de Toronto... (14630)

He describes his position in Ottawa as "indispensable". A man of diverse tastes, he reflects the confidence that competence brings.

This completes the Operations network of relationships. All the people having anything to do with French production are French, with the exception of O'Hara, who functions in a coordinating capacity. However, this position was created for him, and he was replaced by Montpetit and Carter, a de facto linguistic split resulting from the reorganization. Prior to this, presumably, he alone had been in charge of both English and French producers. The job he held immediately before this, Programme Clearance Officer - involved scheduling facilities, a position of some direct power. Now one echelon buffers him from the producers. His last position and his present one were created especially for him. This may not be accidental. All of the critical posts relating directly with producers are filled by French-speaking officers. His apparent promotions may be an effort to fit him into less sensitive spots.

The cast of characters is not yet complete. We must take into consideration at least three people from programming - Bouchard, Charbonneau and Armstrong.

Programming figures in the scheme of things because it plays an important part in any producer's success. Although formally controlled by Operations, the producer must work with Programming to get ideas incorporated into

his show. Since the producers are not primarily interested in rising to higher administrative positions, their promotions take the form of assignment to better-time-slots and bigger budgets. To be successful, a producer must maintain good relations with both Programming and Operations. The effect is that of having two masters. Programming is largely made up of English managers, conflict is inherent in their relations. The problem of evaluation focuses itself here. For this reason, the French members of Programming are in very powerful and sensitive positions. Most important here is Bouchard.

Bouchard, 33, is a graduate of Collège Stanislas and Université de Montréal, (L.L.L.) who has maintained a long interest in cultural and entertainment activities. He was recruited by the French network to fill his present post, which had remained empty for a number of years. Through vigorous effort, he has enlarged his role in the Ottawa Area considerably. He now supervises all the political and educational programmes coming out of Ottawa area in French. His most important work relationships are with the French network, and therefore, he has considerable freedom from Armstrong, who is formally his boss. He describes his position thus:

... l'avancement à Radio-Canada devenait un peu problématique. Dans le seul secteur qui m'intéresse, en radio-diffusion, les Affaires publiques, je venais en troisième place sous Marcel Ouimet. Mes supérieurs immédiats, M. _____ T. _____ et J. _____ G. _____, étant eux-mêmes assez jeunes, je me voyais un peu plafonné.* (14633)

M. Bouchard does not speak English well, although he is probably a functional bilingual. He admits: "Je suis conscient que je fais plusieurs erreurs en anglais et je suis également résigné parce que je suis sûr que je ne pourrai jamais les corriger". This perceptive gentleman also notes the critical need of some understanding of biculturalism within the CBC.

... les gens devraient être tous bilingues et avoir des notions aussi de biculturalisme. Il n'y a pas en effet que la langue qui compte pour comprendre les autres. Il faut aussi comprendre leur méthode de travail, leur conception des choses, leur mentalité, leurs attitudes. Ceci devrait être indispensable pour les cadres supérieurs. Cette différence de mentalité, de façon de voir, est une barrière que ne peut pas toujours franchir la langue. (14633)

This is a man keenly aware of the differing styles of work, and the different criteria of successful production. Perhaps his relationship with his formal superior, Armstrong, suggests where he gained these insights.

* M. Bouchard was no longer employed by the CBC at the date of the interview. For purposes of this study, it is assumed, however, that he still occupied his position.

Armstrong, 40, has a law degree from Mount Allison University. He has been described as "the most fluently bilingual English Canadian I know", by a knowledgeable French-Canadian associated with the CBC study. His education has included a year in France, and he has taught French at Mount Allison University. Interestingly enough, he fears his bilingualism may keep him in his present post for lack of a bilingual replacement.* In addition, he feels that he profits from the present organizational structure of the Ottawa bureau..

... I would be unhappy to see Ottawa area split down the middle - split the area along language lines rather than media lines as it is now... I think that here in Ottawa we have a situation which is pretty good. It would be unfortunate to have to split it up. Administration apart, most unfortunate. For me, as well as the area... Two programme directors, and never the train would meet... except to decide how to divide the facilities. (57627).

It is precisely this kind of man that presents the greatest threat to the French producers through cultural bias. Born and educated in Calgary, and later the Maritimes, he has never had intimate exposure to French-Canadian culture. Producer E says of him:

* This remark is revealing. It suggests that his replacement must be English. This could very well be so, if the present situation at Ottawa is to be maintained. This will be elaborated later.

... il y a beaucoup de bois mort; il y a nombre de grands patrons qui nous font perdre notre temps... ex. le directeur de la programmation.. (16622).

However, a better idea of his degree of bicultural understanding can be gleaned from his own words.

... as a student at summer school, I lived with a French-Canadian family. I avidly read novels of French Canada, and poetry too. French-Canadian culture is a sort of hobby with me. I like to think that I have a knowledge of what's going on. I get insights from casual conversation occasionally. I don't really mean occasionally... I didn't want the Commission to think we did nothing but sit on our asses all the time... maybe frequently even, we talk about French-Canadian things. I like to consider myself a student of French-Canadian cultural aspirations. This ties in with my background, and the fact I live in the province of Quebec. I'm doing my darndest (laugh).

I: Could you give me some idea of the French Canadian authors you read?

R: "Well, I get two papers a day... Le Devoir and Le Droit. I frequently buy French Canadian novels - I can't remember any titles - Poetry of French Canada from time to time. I read Cité Libre. What else? I even read Parti Pris on occasion. Newstand buying, but I don't subscribe. The only French magazine I subscribe to is Le Magazine MacLeans. The rest I get off the newstand. (57627).

Just how bicultural this man's perspectives are - in the terms considered relevant - is not easily determined, but there is no overwhelming need to take his word on the issue. Consider Charbonneau's evaluation in this regard.

... Il y a beaucoup de différence culturelle; mon supérieur est parfait bilingue mais n'a pas du tout la même conception d'une bonne émission. Lefebvre m'a félicité pour l'émission "Temps des Fêtes" alors le premier (le supérieur) est demeuré sceptique. (16627)

Charbonneau, 35, is assistant to Armstrong. An accountant by training, he is extremely security conscious. He feels lucky to have risen as high as he has since his education was terminated at "Belles lettres". A Hull resident all his life, he says:

"... Nous, les franco-ontariens, on est plus anglais que français, on pense en anglais. Nous sommes beaucoup anglicisé dans notre façon d'agir, dans nos conceptions..." (16627)

It would seem that he is not so anglicized that he is blind to the differences between English and French work styles. He remains in a strongly French milieu due to his unilingual French wife, his social life and his difficulties in spoken English. His statement, then, might reflect a conflict in process within him, that of his highly bureaucratic position - defined as "English" - and his other associations. His actual anglicization index score is the lowest possible.

Although satisfied with his own career, he feels that CBC promotion policy is "très mauvais".

"Dans certains milieux, il y a du favoritisme; lorsqu'il y a un supérieur unilingue anglais, membre d'une loge orangiste, ne demandez pas qui va avoir la promotion! Moi je n'ai pas eu à en souffrir car ma position fut la première affichée comme devant être occupée par un bilingue." (16627)

His concern for his ethnic group extends to his secretary, whom he feels should be paid more than unilinguals. The only alternative job he has considered in a serious way came from the Quebec Civil Service. He has turned down lucrative offers from Toronto.

It is difficult to tell how much Charbonneau shares in policy-making. However, he is not mentioned by any other respondent. His experience has not equipped him to judge the productions, and his personality seems to be that of the retiring, security conscious bookkeeper. I suspect that his duties include only the most routine aspects of Armstrong's position.

This completes the picture of the first FLU, as far as personalities are concerned. Two other characters appear, but these have not been interviewed. Smith is definitely an important Programming official. He is responsible for the collection and airing of local news

broadcasts. This makes up a regular, and significant proportion of the area's programming. News is very routine, from a production point of view. It commands only the younger, less experienced producers. He does not, then, possess manipulative rewards to the extent that other Programming officials do, and it is possible that his main influence is felt in the newsroom itself.

James is another enigma. He occupies two formal positions, Programming Supervisor for both radio and television. This must be a relatively minor post in Ottawa, since the residue after news, Public Affairs, Sports, and Farm Broadcasts, must be small indeed. Significantly, his staff is made up of no more than three people.

These two men are the only possible unilingual English that directly supervise the French productions from the programming side.* No English Canadian oversees them in Operations, and O'Hara, the only important English-speaking individual who deals with French producers, is two echelons above them. (As pointed out earlier, he has little to do with evaluation of these producers, and cooperates fully in providing them with the support staff they need.)

* Their language abilities are undetermined. See, in this regard, Bouchard's statement, page 74.

Bouchard plays a critical role for the French producers. Unlike his English counterpart, he takes care of educational programmes as well as Public Affairs. He thus controls a good deal of the opportunities both to gain varied experience, and to work on the bigger shows. Given his education, tastes, and power within the organization (he holds many of the key rewards) he could easily counter any corrosive effects James and Smith might have on the French producers. His awareness of the bicultural problems of evaluation is perhaps more sharply honed than that of any other official in the Ottawa area. His inclinations tend to place him squarely in support of the French producers.

Ce travail d'équipe donne peut-être des résultats moins foudroyants, moins éclatants que celui du réalisateur français qui aura souvent l'avantage d'être très original et unique en son genre.
(14633)

In return, the producers freely tell of their respect for Bouchard.

"Je dois toute mon expérience à Radio-Canada, aux personnes qui m'ont fait confiance. Je pense à (Lefebvre) à (Bouchard) à Bruno Comeau... à qui je dois une très grande reconnaissance."
(14632)

"C'est une relation de Maître à disciple." (16622)

"(Bouchard) m'a donné un bon coup de main." (16628)

"J'ai été aidé en d'autres mots quand j'ai vraiment pu communiquer avec mes chefs... Ça, j'ai pu considérer à (Bouchard)". (12602)

It is likely that this man rivals Lefebvre in importance to the producers. His connections with M.T. in the French network, might even make him the most powerful figure on the producer's milieu.

The Synthesis

It is probable that the FLU centering around French productions is much more than an interesting linguistic pattern. Language is not recognized formally. Divisions occur along media lines. We might, therefore, expect the French administrators to appear only randomly throughout the structure. But this is not the case. I shall attempt to establish the fact that these linguistic patterns reflect the existence of a powerful work clique which jealously guards its own language and cultural prerogatives. Consider the following quotation from Carter's* interview:

Throughout the course of the interview, there was an interesting exchange taking place which I think worthwhile recording. It concerns the filming of the Christmas messages of the Prime Minister, and the Governor General.

Several days before the interview took place, Toronto CBC had phoned the supervising producer of Public Affairs (Bernard) to see that Ottawa CBC would take care of the filming of these two events. (Bernard) handed the job over to the respondent. The respondent in turn had requested the supervisor of the French producers to undertake the job.

* Carter is "Supervising Producer, Television", for the English side.

The French supervisor said that the French staff was extremely busy at this time of the year, and that it would be very difficult at the time to find anyone who would be free to do the job. Nothing else was said about it.

The following day, the respondent asked one of the English producers to do the job, and it was apparently all arranged. Then it was discovered that the French supervisor had in the meantime assigned one of his French producers to cover the events, and that he had sent a memo to this effect to the other producers. The French section discovered that it had apparently been "cut out", since an English producer had been assigned.

During the course of the interview, the respondent received at least five telephone calls concerning this catastrophe. He appeared quite willing to let the whole matter drop, and to let the French producer do both of the shows, explaining to the French supervisor how the mix up had occurred in the first place. The uproar and confusion seemed to continue unabated as calls kept coming through from both sides. The respondent persisted in making his mistake clear to all parties concerned. (54602)

This provides us with some interesting fodder. First of all, an excessive number of calls seem to have been made from the French side if sorting out the confusion was the main consideration. Since calls came "from both sides" it is apparent that a number of calls went to higher and lower officials (presumably initiated by French producers). Carter felt no reluctance in cancelling the assignment of his English-speaking producer in favor of the French producer. This mobilization of power among the French

employees illustrates the machinations of a French work clique. It is inconceivable that such mobilization would occur if both producers involved were either English or French. The issue became an "ethnic" one. Interestingly, the English group did not organize a counter-protest.

It can be assumed that the French group both feels secure enough to mount such opposition, and has enough solidarity to do so. The amount of heat generated clearly suggests the sensitivity the FLU feels with regard to its own authority. The programme itself was not originally viewed as valuable or desirable, but the implication of English interference or evaluation was unbearable. Apologies were required all around to mend the breach. The offended producer, who felt his ability had been challenged, had to be assured such was not the case.

In another interview, that of Beaudet, the Franco-Manitoban, who is extremely anglicized, the concern with offending group norms clearly shows. The question concerned the existence of different work-styles amongst the two groups.

R: (après hésitation) Puisque c'est confidentiel?

I: Vous n'avez rien à craindre la-dessus.

R: Eh bien ... je dirais que les Anglais ont plus de conscience professionnelle que les Français...
(12607)

This fear has no counterpart on the English side and indicates a certain esprit de corps among the French.

The following quotations reflect the closeness of the French group in the Ottawa area, and indicate further the kind of relationships they have with one another.

"J'aime bien le milieu; nous sommes beaucoup plus une grande famille qu'à Montréal ou Toronto"

and later, the same respondent adds:

"... ici on est le deuxième, ou troisième sur des centaines mais à Montréal un individu est le deux cent ou trois centième (200 ou 300ième) sur des milliers."

Another says:

"Ici, on est un petit groupe et il est plus facile de créer le climat d'une petite famille."
(16622)

Yet another:

"Ici on est le cinquième ou sixième (5 ou 6ième) sur une liste de cent, deux cent, alors qu'à Montréal on est le deux ou trois centième sur une liste de milliers... Ici à Ottawa on se sent moins perdu. On est comme une large famille."
(16628)

Bouchard adds this comment:

"Jusqu'à ces toutes dernières années, Radio-Canada c'était un peu comme une grande famille où tout le monde se connaissait personnellement et s'appelait par son petit nom depuis le grand patron au plus petit technicien..." (14633)

Other people underline the negative aspects of working in Toronto or Montreal in contrast to Ottawa.

"... Montréal, c'est une petaudière" (14632)

In the same interview, Montpetit refers to Montreal when he says:

"Si jamais j'y allais, je n'irais qu'à mon corps défendant. Je sais que je n'aimerais ni l'ambiance ni la mentalité. Je trouve les gens de Montréal arrangants et prétentieux."
(14632)

A producer concurs:

"Mais je n'aimerais pas aller travailler à Montréal à cause des gens. Il y a trop d'intrigues..."

One can easily see that the producers seem to have developed close working relationships amongst themselves. The recurrence of the "large family" theme is striking. The reaction against the size and sophistication of Montreal is probably indicative of an appreciation of the less formal Ottawa atmosphere. Nothing in these quotations indicates that the "family feeling" is limited to French-speaking officials. But the same group of respondents state, in different parts of their interviews, a distaste for the English style of work. All agree, with the exception of Beaudet, that the French Canadian produces a more spontaneous, disciplined show. In other remarks, charges are laid against the English group, and reflects an alienation from them.

"... une chose certaine c'est que ceux qui sont appelés à juger nos émissions sont de langue anglaise et ils n'y comprennent rien..."
(12622)

"... il n'y a que les Anglais qui font de la discrimination au travail. J'ai en tête un cas en particulier; alors que j'étais régisseur, le directeur technique, un Anglais, a fait ouvertement de la discrimination: Je l'ai rapporté au gérant de l'exploitation et ça s'est su..." (12605)

"J'ai un peu l'impression que les Anglais s'entendent bien avec les Anglais et que parallèlement les Français s'entendent bien avec Français..." (12604)

"Mais travailler seulement avec des Canadiens anglais, je m'en sens incapable." (14633)

These are strong indications that the French do not view the English as part of their "petite famille".

The role Lefebvre and Bouchard play in sheltering the French producers has already been underlined. References are made to these functions in the foregoing quotes. Producer 'D' went to Lefebvre with his complaint of discrimination. Charbonneau was congratulated by Lefebvre for a production that Armstrong did not like. Pineau remarks that the position of the French relies upon Lefebvre when he says:

"Si le poste devenait plus anglais que français, il y aurait un problème... Tout dépend du gérant, du directeur, c'est assez fragile." (13610)

A producer expresses the same sentiments.

"Malgré qu'un effort se fasse actuellement pour promouvoir le français, le bilinguisme, ce n'est pas pour demain. C'est un progrès qui se fait très lentement. Cela dépend surtout du patron, et des patrons."

Bouchard, as noted earlier, controls many of the "plums". He can easily, if less spectacularly, protect his producers from demoralization at the hands of the English, by transferring them to his shows. Any transfer from News to Public Affairs would certainly be generally considered a promotion, and would act as a stimulant to other producers. This does not mean to suggest that competence is not a criteria of promotion, but the very sources of irritation for the English might be signs of competence for the French. If consensus declared any producer unskillful, there would be no reason to protect him.

Why, then, the frustration the producers generally feel in the knowledge that unilingual English judge their shows? This feeling is unrelated to perceptions of career barriers, it will be recalled, especially barriers based upon ethnicity or language. It was postulated earlier that this issue forms the basis of a unifying group ideology, rather than a reflection of a real career threat. I wish to now elaborate this argument.

The French productions are judged, most directly, by Bouchard, Marcotte, James, Smith and Armstrong. Bouchard and Marcotte are French Canadians, and Armstrong is fluently bilingual. Smith handles only News, in which

there is very little of a creative nature to judge, and James seems to have very few shows. Bouchard definitely has the shows in which critical judgement is most important, and he is more deeply steeped in French-Canadian culture than any of the producers. Operations people that play a role in judgements - Lefebvre and Montpetit, especially - are undoubtedly well qualified French Canadians. Given the type of response Carter's gaffe created,* any English Canadian unilingual would be unwise to the point of foolhardiness to attempt any evaluation, especially if it is not part of his formal duties. We can conclude that the problem of evaluation by unilingual English-speaking officials is not objectively as critical to the French producers as their words would lead us to believe.

One can easily see how magnification of such slights could serve to firm the resolve of the French group. This argument can also tend to undermine the defences of the English group, since it is a position they themselves accept, as shown in the following chart.

* See pages 54-55.

Let us consider for a moment, the top ranking CBC personnel - those found at Headquarters, in French and English broadcasting, and in regional broadcasting. Do you think it would be good if most of these senior personnel, both French and English, were bilingual? Or do you think that this is not necessary?

E.C.

Yes, it is necessary or highly desirable without qualification	28%	(11)
In part - necessary for <u>some</u> headquarters people and <u>some</u> of Regional Broadcasting, including Ottawa area	40%	(16)
It should be considered as one qualification among others	25%	(10)
It is not very important	8%	(3)
TOTAL	101%	(40)

The French can protect themselves from managerial encroachment by invoking their language rights. Such an approach would disarm the English almost completely, since sixty-eight per cent of them admit, in effect, that unilingual managers are not competent to judge French productions. (This does not, of course, apply to routine work procedures nearly as extensively). The bilingual argument, then, has two purposes for the French: (1) it protects them from some of the more coercive and arbitrary actions of management by cementing their group solidarity,

and (2) enhances their career perspectives by defining key jobs as "bilingual" and thus the likelihood of promoting French Canadians to these positions. (This may, in fact, be an important basis of the reciprocity that exists between the French managers and their employees, the producers). One French producer states it rather badly, but accurately.

Il faudrait qu'à la tête de la zone d'Ottawa, les chefs soient des Canadiens-français; s'ils font affaire avec les deux réseaux, eux seulement pourront comprendre les problèmes.

This suggests the rather unique position in which the French must place bilingual English Canadians. Their linguistic defense cannot withstand the assaults of bilingual English employees. It is through this chink that the main important threats of cultural biases must slip. To French-Canadian eyes, it is only the French that "can understand the problems". Consider the treatment of the fluently bilingual "Producer 1". He is extremely sympathetic to French-Canadian aims. He says:

"From a producer's point of view, when you want something done, you don't go to the man who makes the final decision. I go to (James) who goes to (Armstrong), who goes to (Lefebvre)." (59635).

He does not seem to deal directly with his Radio Operations boss, Robillard. He has to go to the top, a considerable disadvantage. This seems to be the opposite of the close relationships that exist on the French side. He says of Robillard:

One of the bosses I have is French-speaking. I have had a lot of fights with him. If I'm just at the discussing stage I talk to him in French. But when I get nasty I speak English. It's a dirty trick. But I just can't be nasty in French. (The respondent said the following was very confidential.

The man who is in charge, though he prefers to speak English to English Canadians, I have the feeling that French get better treatment. His name is (Robillard) e.g. I tried to get a typewriter and a filing cabinet; I couldn't get these. My French counterpart asked for a whole new office and got it. (The respondent gave another example which I didn't understand. It had something to do with being able to get studio space to clear the air. Apparently it was only done for the French Station and (Robillard) refused to do it for the English Station). (59635)

Producer 1 has been offered a programme on television. Ironically, he says "I suspect French had something to do with it".

Something of a missionary, Producer 1 has attempted to create a bridge between the two sets of producers. The effort has largely failed. He talks French mostly to Robillard and the secretaries, and Robillard is reluctant even in this. We can see some of the mechanisms by which the Producer 1 is repulsed from the French unit, and encouraged into the English side. No implication should be drawn that this is a conscious programme of action amongst the French. To the extent that group identity exists among the French, conscious discrimination is not

necessary. Simple refusal to accept him as French will do. His efforts to interact socially then become, themselves, patronizing and offensive.

It is the technicians who are most reluctant to admit that mastery of the French language is an important job qualification. In part, this is due to the nature of their work and training, which leads them to value the simple pragmatic consideration, "does it work?" Communications now "work", due to the bilingualism of the producers. The technicians see no reason to change this arrangement. A second factor may be that they see bilingualism as a career block. Generally speaking, their skills are not portable. Many have been trained on the job, and thus do not have the paper qualifications for lucrative outside positions, whatever their skill level.

"I thought about the possibilities of alternatives (jobs) when things aren't going right here, but as far as I'm concerned there are no real alternatives." (56615)

"About five years ago I had an offer of a job from a private station which wasn't in Ottawa. The salary was higher but they didn't offer much else except salary." (56621)

"I could get a job somewhere else. But there is no parallel to my particular work that could give me the parallel money with what I make here. I would have to move at a loss. I wouldn't do it unless it became very distasteful here. It's something I can't gamble on now. I can't consider myself alone now that I am married and have three children. You have to use a bit of wisdom and restraint in things like this when you have responsibilities." (54610)

A third, more subtle factor is found in their structural relationship to the French producers, which yield great tension. The technicians, however trained, possess a body of knowledge that may be of limited interest or immediate value to the producers. Like technical experts in any bureaucracy, they enjoy a reasonably powerful position. With anything less than full attention, they can uncynically detract from any production. A boom-mike may cast a shadow on an actor, for instance, and compromise "the willing suspension of disbelief". But with eager collaboration, they can aid considerably in attaining the effects the producer desires. Cooperation, rather than coercion, is the quality required.

It appears that the English and French producers work in very different ways with the technicians. Producer 'A' tells us:

... Je pense que oui. Les Canadiens anglais sont plus conscients de l'autorité que les Canadiens français. Le Canadien anglais va plutôt 'suggérer' une directive; en fait c'en est une. Pour le Canadien français il faut que ce soit plus précis. En fait c'est mon impression.

Bouchard collaborates this in his usually perceptive way.

"Nos collègues anglais croient beaucoup au travail d'équipe tandis que nous, nous sommes plus individualistes. Prenez par exemple deux réalisateurs, l'un français, l'autre anglais, à

qui l'on demande un 'projet'. Le français va s'en aller tout seul réfléchir et mijoter jusqu'à ce qu'il trouve quelque chose. Si son idée est bonne et acceptée, il y réfléchit encore un peu, et là il fera appel à des collaborateurs à qui il confiera des fonctions précises et qui n'auront pas à remettre en cause sa conception du projet. Ce projet, c'est son bébé à lui. Par ailleurs, regardez le réalisateur anglais. Aussitôt qu'on lui demande un projet, il réunit immédiatement autour de lui tous ceux qu'il juge susceptibles d'y fournir des idées. Il prendra les idées de tout le monde et en fera une synthèse ou encore il n'en retiendra qu'une qui lui semble la meilleure. C'est un travail d'équipe et de solidarité."

Time and time again statements are made of the hypocritical behavior of English Canadians vis-à-vis authority, but these complaints seem to centre upon the technicians' unruly behavior with the French producers. They are surly but do not articulate their protests. The feeling seems to exist that the technicians are not fully cooperating, but will not come out like men and say what is on their minds. The attitudes amongst the technicians and cameramen, reflect these relationships with the French producers.

"Some French are very conscious of authority and throw it around. You would gather from listening to them that they are directing the policy of the CBC... Now with bilingualism becoming so important the English Canadian is getting into the position that the French Canadian was in. They feel that discrimination is happening and will continue to happen and they can't do anything." (56638)

"... as it so happens, I don't get along with the French supervisor but neither do the other French Canadian technicians. It's more a personal thing than an ethnic one." (56621)

"... The British who come into the Corporation and who obtain authority in Toronto are a bit much. They assert themselves much beyond what they are called upon to do. The well-bred educated, etcetera, French in Quebec act the same way... The English-speaking Canadian would love to strangle some of these Britons who like to use them as footstools - The French feel the same way about upper bracket Quebecers. They both are a little more eccentric than they ought to be." (56612)

The different conceptions of technical competence seem to appear too in the following statement:

Bien je pense qu'un Canadien français est plus chialeux, mais plus respectueux. C'est bien dur à dire. Disons qu'un Anglais est plus.... agit plus selon les statuts et les règlements, mais je pense que c'est une mentalité différente... Un Canadien français est plus efficace en tout cas ceux que nous avons ici sont plus méthodiques, peuvent travailler à trois choses à la fois, les Anglais font une chose et c'est tout. (13617)

The above quotation comes from the only technician who sees his career enhanced by linguistic considerations. He repeats throughout charges of discrimination, in keeping with the hypothesis that this argument will be embraced most fervently not by those who have been discriminated against, but by those who feel they have the most to gain by the argument. He says of himself:

... disons que je suis reconnu comme un gars qui essaie de parler français. J'aime pas ça parler anglais, c'est plutôt une corvée qu'autre chose. (13617)

Other French-Canadian technicians envy him, for they have largely lost their linguistic skills. They recognize now that their career success depends in part upon being bilingual, a situation that was not evident only a few years ago.

Mais si j'avais plus d'instruction et si je connaissais plus mon français, par le fait même je crois que je serais encore meilleur en anglais, et à ce moment-là ce serait avantageux pour moi. J'ai l'impression que si mon expression était plus facile dans les deux langues ça m'aiderait encore davantage. (12608)

It appears that a new reciprocity exists between the French producers and technicians. The FLU is attempting to move downward as well as upward, in their efforts to build a linguistic split into the Ottawa area. If they can control their technicians, they can reward them for obedience by reserving higher posts for them. This would, of course, be seen as favoritism by the English technicians.

When it comes to a situation where you have a bilingual French supervisor and he wants to know about something he will choose a French-speaking employee to discuss things not because he is bilingual but because he is French and they think the same way. (56615).

The same technician adds:

Bilingualism in practice seems to mean you are French and can speak English. But there is a very casual atmosphere around here between the French and English: there are no difficulties. There are a few individuals who are French and bilingual who are a little extreme in their viewpoints and they show favouritism to French... (56615)

Another concurs:

... if there is a bilingual position open it usually means they want a person of French origin to fill it. Being bilingual means to the Englishman, that you are French and can speak English but it doesn't hold the other way around... This has become a general feeling at CBC and in Ottawa in general. A couple of years ago I made a concentrated

attempt to learn French, I joined a course and studied on my own... but the CBC did not back me up on the course or provide times when I could speak it. So I said to hell with it. It had become evident that it wasn't the language but your ethnic background that was the important thing. I had lived in a French community a good number of years and had never had any problems but I've had quite a few since coming here. I've decided now to forget the language completely. I refuse to speak it at all. This bilingualism thing is becoming a growing problem at the CBC... (56621)

Probably a functional bilingual, he ran into a kind of harassment similar in nature to that "Producer 1" encountered. Let us continue with quotations.

... there are certain types of discrimination. One can't say discrimination because you are French or vice versa, but when you have a succession of English-speaking people under a French supervisor who are getting the dirty end of the stick and the French people who aren't - what do you conclude? (56616)

As far as language policy is concerned local management is more of a concern than a CBC national policy of government policy - they may make changes as a form of concession to pressure. Bilingualism as such seems to be less important than biculturalism. The general impression is more that it is less important to be bilingual than bicultural - which means that if you are French Canadian and speak English then you are bicultural but the reverse is not true. (56615)

... it doesn't stick out but you can find it if you look for it. On the other hand you can easily ignore it. But it is there just the same. I hadn't really noticed it until recently when it was pointed out to me. I guess up until then I had been ignoring it. It is due to the fact that some of the higher management people are of different ethnic background.

I: HOW DOES IT COME OUT?

R: It comes out in who gets jobs without actually getting promoted. Some jobs at a particular level are better than others... The actual duties you perform, you know what I mean, some are 'dirty jobs' others are not. I've also noticed people being pushed into jobs that they are not qualified to perform. This controversy is not strong at the lower levels but when you get a little higher the controversy gets a little stronger.

I: WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY 'HIGHER LEVELS'?

R: Well, it might possibly happen at the Technical Producer level but it is more likely to have an effect further on in the Corporation. (56621)

Consider one last interesting statement:

I know that if I didn't speak French, if I only spoke English, I would be a hell of a lot higher... Why is it holding me back?... One reason because I'm classified as a French Canadian and there are some departments that you can't get into because they don't want French Canadians in that department. The English do the hiring and they will take an English Canadian first. (56618)

We have already seen the treatment bilingual, but unicultural, people receive from the French. The above gentleman is Ontario born, but his maternal tongue was Swedish. The source of his frustration might not be the English - to whom bilinguals are very valuable - but the French.

It will be obvious by this time that the most direct and successful way of gaining the technicians' involvement and collaboration is to accept him into the 'team' so typical according to Bouchard, of the English side. But the French producer is more the virtuoso. He expects only instant obedience from his 'team'. Viewing the technicians as cultural illiterates - a tag that will stick on only

a few - he devalues any suggestions they might make. The cultural biases which seem general to the English, are likely most evident amongst those practical souls, the technicians. There would be a tendency for their partnership to become, in Brunet's memorable phrase, that of horse and rider.

Thus, this conflict introduces strains which the French producer can alleviate through controlling and rewarding French technicians. By controlling access to good job experience and promotions, he has a powerful position vis-à-vis the junior technicians. He can thus trade these "commodities" for the respectful good will of the men he chooses to favour in such a way. The sine qua non of such a manoeuvre is that the chosen man be French Canadian.

This process seems to be going on. The extent to which it is successful is debatable. The English have not looked to their union to counter this strategy. Nor are they very demoralized by it. But it is evident that they are turning their attention to their language skills. A number of them are taking, or have been taking, French lessons. This does not come to grips with the basic cultural problem involved. But as a counter-strategy it does disarm the French producers' complaints, and weaken their position.

This completes the treatment of the very successful FLU that the producers have managed to develop. The vigour and virility of their group is gratifying. A brief description of a much less successful FLU in the newsroom will enable us to compare and draw out some of the factors which may be important to the success of such units.

The Newsroom

The newsroom staff is connected, through Smith, to the Programming Division of Regional Broadcasting. Smith, it will be remembered, was not interviewed, but is possibly one of the unilingual officials that the French producers point to as evidence of their travail. However, Bouchard claims such is not the case.

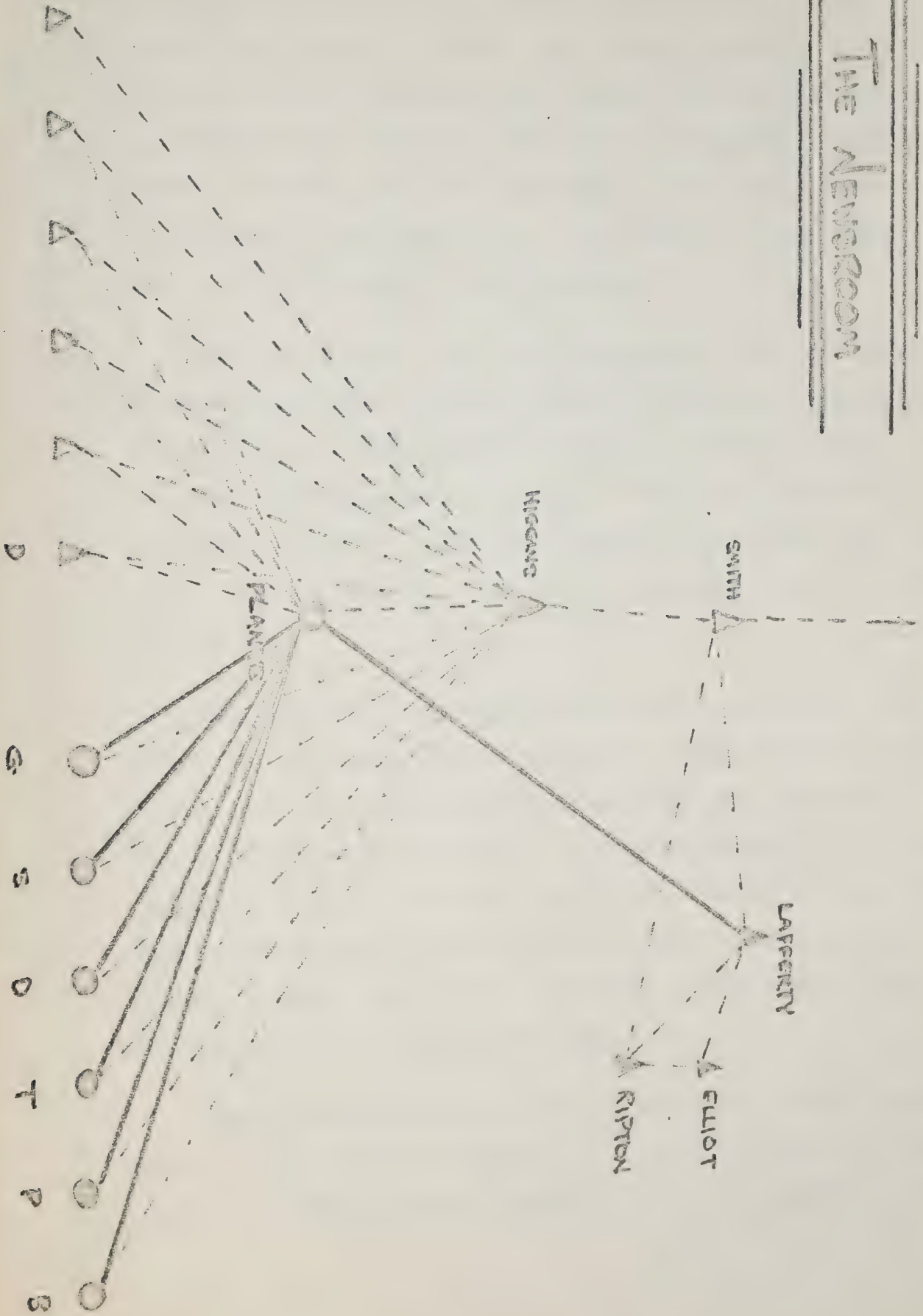
Par contre, au niveau des patrons, il nous faut constater un bilinguisme avancé. Seul J. D. , le directeur de la zone d'Ottawa, ne l'est pas. A tous les autres postes de la zone d'Ottawa, il faut être bilingue pour les obtenir. (George Smith) ne serait pas Chef des nouvelles s'il n'était pas bilingue.
(14633)

Whatever the truth of the situation, the problems of biculturalism undoubtedly still persist. Because he was not interviewed, we know very little about him. But let us assume that his chief interactions are with his Newsroom Chief, Higgins, and, less intensively, with some producers on both sides. (Even this can be downplayed due to the relatively routine nature of news productions.)

The newsroom staff occupy one large room, and being thrown in together in such a manner, language patterns could be expected to be chaotic. Due to the convention of speaking English in front of a unilingual English Canadian,

The Newsroom

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we might expect English to be used more than would be normal among peers. A brief chart shows the most relevant characteristics of the lowest rank in the sample, the newseditors. (For our purposes, the English-speaking newsmen will be left off this chart. Most of them in our sample are assigned to the Parliamentary Press Gallery, and are never present in the Newsroom.)

This chart shows that les rédacteurs are more classically educated, and have a higher degree of linguistic purity than the producers. They resemble them too in being young. However, their interests have been much less culturally oriented. They have more work experience in their own language. All of them have had rather extensive experience in journalism.

They see their careers taking them to glamorous overseas posts, rather than in climbing in the administrative structures of the CBC. In this, they again resemble the producers. Here they face an important problem - that of education of their children. Although the urge to travel remains strong, they seem to be determined to have their children educated in French, as they were. This, of course, limits them considerably in regard to foreign postings.

Supervising this group are two officers, a "chef rédacteur" and a "editor-in-charge". I cannot determine whether these are parallel posts, formally, or if the English officer,

IDENTIFI- CATION	YEARS EXPERIENCE	HIGHEST DEGREE	SCHOOL ACTIVITY	PREVIOUS WORK EXPERIENCE	LANGUAGE OF WORK	ENG. SKILLS	LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION	AGE
PLANTE	10	L.L.B.	SPORTS	JOURNALISM	MOSTLY FRENCH	GOOD	ALL FRENCH	40
'S'	$\frac{1}{4}$	GR LL	DEBATING	RADIO- JOURNALISM	MOSTLY FRENCH	FAIR	ALL FRENCH	24
'D'	5	RHET.	-	JOURNALISM	ALL FRENCH	GOOD	ALL FRENCH	31
'B'	5	BA	SPORTS	RADIO- JOURNALISM	ALL FRENCH	FLUENT	ALL FRENCH	31
'G'	$1\frac{1}{2}$	VERS.	-	MIXED	MOSTLY FRENCH	GOOD	ALL FRENCH	41
'T'	5	PHILO I	-	JOURNALISM	ALL FRENCH	FLUENT	ALL FRENCH	31
'D'	1	PHILO II	SPORT	JOURNALISM	ALL FRENCH	FLUENT	ALL FRENCH	32

the "editor-in-charge", is ranked more highly. Whatever the formal arrangement, the vigour of Higgins has seriously undermined the authority of Plante. But we are getting ahead of ourselves.

The parallel with the French producers continues in that their work is affected by the cultural biases of each group. This rouses the anticipated complaints.

Il y a une immense différence et elle se remarque surtout dans la conception des nouvelles, dans la façon de travailler; on remarque chez les Canadiens-anglais une recherche du "feature" ce qui n'est pas le cas chez les Canadiens français." (16626)

"Au plan journalistique, le Canadien anglais recherche la sensation." (16624)

"... les Anglais s'intéressent beaucoup ici aux affaires municipales. Nous on s'y intéresse, car les Canadiens français d'Ottawa et de Hull se foutent pas mal de ces histoires là." (13616)

"... ils n'hésiteront pas à faire une longue distance à Londres pour avoir des informations sur la course de "crêpes"; mais on lui a refusé une longue distance à Rome pour demander des explications à Mgr Charbonneau concernant des déclarations sur le conseil, disant que ce n'est pas une nouvelle importante." (16621)

Cultural biases can creep in both in the coverage given, and the style of reporting demanded by the superiors. The other cultural understandings with regard to work practices also appear to be in conflict.

L'emploi du "you", alors qu'en français on a le "tu" et le "vous", a un effet marquant dans les rapports employés-patron. D'une certaine façon les Canadiens anglais se trouvent à tutoyer leurs patrons. Ceci

produit des excès qui ne se retrouvent pas chez les Canadiens français. (16621)

Le Canadien français a une notion plus forte de l'autorité; pour le Canadien anglais c'est un cadre extérieur qui les affecte très peu intérieurement. (16624)

Les Anglais font tout de même un travail honnête, mais ils n'aiment pas traiter d'un sujet qui a une profondeur: religion, philosophie. Du côté français, ce sont des discussions perpétuelles sur ces sujets.

La situation se pose lorsque l'on discute d'un projet, par exemple: pour les Anglais, ce sera les détails qui seront importants; on avancera pas à pas. Pour nous, Français, c'est le principe de la chose qui compte. (16625)

The differing work-styles contribute to the problem. The tradition of the English-speaking newsroom, with its informality, and collegial air, clashes with the expectations of the French reporters. The differences of perception of English work-styles, from production to news-editing, is striking. The producers feel the English are hypocritical towards authority, since their grumbling cooperation is minimal. (They are referring to the technicians.) But they conclude that they respect it more. The French reporters, by contrast, feel that the English are disrespectful, and too close to their supervisors. These comments take on a moralistic tinge which shows the intensity with which they are felt. Here it is the French that have more discipline.

(Referring back, we can see that the fact that the French producers see the English as more docile in the face of authority, shows in more clear relief the fact that the French production people form a work clique.) In the newsroom, it is the English that form a work clique. But the nature of these groupings is different. In the French case, they are joined together by ethnicity. With the English, they are allied by their preference for working in the team style. They expect the French to become "team-members".

The cultural biases and work styles clearly conflict in the newsroom, making the burden of "being French" a heavy one. Two other considerations add to this weight. One is the closeness of supervision given both. The producer sees himself as something of an artist. He can rebel on points because of the charisma he thus appropriates. Since he works in visual modes of expression, he has more flexibility of action than the reporter, whose written work can be scrutinized before being used. By contrast, reporting is seen as a skill, or a trade, that one learns. One's superior is thus more competent to shape and criticize it. The news reporter is not as capable of "getting around" his superior.

A second factor is the relative frequency a supervisor is called upon to judge an underling. In the newsroom, this would happen a few times a day. The reporter is given a specific story to cover. Jobs are short-term and awarded daily on the bases of perceived competence. Thus the reporters are faced with both closer and more frequent supervision than the producers.

For these reasons, it is important that the immediate supervisors of each group be active, and defend the values of their group. We have seen that important cultural biases exist in both selection and style of reporting of news. The hypothesized differing styles of work should also be catered to within each group. The role of the supervisors become critically important, for they must reward good performance with future good assignments, and implement the criteria each group recognizes. Both groups are made up of experienced journalists, and if one set of these criteria are allowed to fall before the other, competent men will feel they have not been rewarded for their skills. General demoralization might result. We turn our attention to the two editors-in-chief.

Higgins has worked for the CBC for sixteen years. A three-year foreign posting has topped off his successful career. Prior to coming to Canada, he apprenticed himself to a series of papers in England, ending up with a Fleet

Street tabloid. His ambition has led him into production, and he now produces a weekly show. His attitudes towards bilingualism are perhaps what you might expect from a non-Canadian, in that they revolve totally around practical consideration.

R: I think that the head of the English network needn't be bilingual. But on the other hand the head of the French network would have to be.

I: Why?

R: I'm not bilingual, but I have no difficulty in conversing with anyone I want to. But the French editor-in-charge has to be bilingual, or else there would be no communication between the two sides. So I think it would be the same if you apply the idea to the top brass.
(57608)

The interviewer tells of a conversation she had with the respondent after the interview:

He said that there is to be a talk given in the near future on libel and slander, by one of the Corporation lawyers to the editors in the newsroom. Since the lawyer is English, the talk will be given in English. But the respondent seemed to take umbrage at the fact that one of the French editors who is fluently bilingual asked that there be a translation of the discussion into French for the benefit of the French editors. He also said that he was shocked when at the time of the election, the French editors asked for a French rundown of the election coverage, which had been prepared in English. The respondent said that the French knew this would take many hours to prepare, and that there was not enough time before the election to prepare the brief all over again for the benefit of the French. He felt that this was very poor on the part of the French, and he could see no reason why something like this, an incident like this should take place, when there was no practical reason for it. (57608)

Higgins admits he doesn't know "the rights and wrongs of it". His interest is purely in the deployment of manpower. It is the hours of secretarial work that he considers, as well as the fact that the French are sufficiently bilingual to read English programme rundowns. He sees no "principle" involved.

Faced with a man of such competence and vigour, and with so little understanding of the bicultural aspects of news coverage, the French would require a supervisor of considerable talents, not only in reporting skills, but in the tactical skills required to maintain and establish the integrity of the French unit.

Plante is not such a man. Highly educated and well-connected, he has never shown the kind of personal strength his role requires. The interviewer's impressions included the following remark:

C'est un individu qui semble manqué d'énergie, d'autorité; tout chez lui vous laisse deviner un manque "d'épine dorsale". Lorsqu'il a pris des décisions ou refusé des offres c'est soit son père, soit sa femme, qui en furent les éléments déterminants.
(16626)

He showed no taste for his "promotion" to Ottawa, despite of the fact that he is a native of the region. (He has, however, been extensively educated in other parts of Quebec.)

Celui qui me précédait était originaire de Montréal. Il demanda d'y retourner se désistant comme chef des nouvelles. On m'a transféré: je ne voulais pas venir mais on m'a menacé de me transférer à Québec l'année suivante, ce qui était pire car la salle des nouvelles n'y est pas organisée. Vu que ma femme insista je décidai de venir. (16626)

His reaction to Higgins has not been forceful or aggressive, as his reporters note.

Il a un pouvoir très limité: la décision finale revient au supérieur anglais... exemple de l'ingérence du supérieur anglais dans le secteur français: lorsqu'un certain général canadien -anglais est décédé il y a quelque mois, il nous a forcé à passer une nouvelle de 10 minutes sur ce sujet qui n'était d'aucun intérêt pour les Canadiens français. On a essayé de lui dire mais il ne peut pas admettre que cette différence existe. (16623)

"Il y a un chef français mais il n'a pas de pouvoir réel. De sorte que lorsqu'il y a quelque chose à régler, on s'adresse au directeur de langue anglaise..." C'est même ce supérieur qui est venu lui porter son chèque de paye. Et c'est à ce supérieur qu'il a dû aller porter une note pour aviser qu'il serait absent pour l'entrevue. (16621)

For some reason, Plante makes no effort to counter Higgins' aggressive administration, and has had his authority usurped.* One can't say if Smith has played any role in this process, but Plante's experience in Ottawa has been sufficiently unpleasant to make him yearn to return to Montreal, even with a demotion. His policy seems to be one of total acquiescence rather than one of even passive resistance. Probably the most important factor is his own lack of personal force.

*It is possible that many French Canadians feel a need to defer to English Canadians, in work situations. This again revolves around a differing conception of authority.

The result of this lack of protection is striking. Plante has given up his rights of evaluation, and the result is general demoralization. The rédacteurs make the following remarks when asked what their career plans were:

Il aimerait retourner au journalisme écrit: "ça nous permet de développer davantage le texte écrit."
(16625)

...ce serait difficile de trouver les mêmes conditions. De plus, j'ai déjà 41 ans et il se fait tard pour recommencer ailleurs. (16623)

...je ne vise à aucun poste; je songe à retourner au journalisme écrit. (16626)

Actuellement je ne pense à quitter. J'ai abandonné l'étude et je compte bien y revenir à temps partiel: je pense actuellement aux relations industrielles...
(16624)

Le tout va dépendre des circonstances. (16620)

Je sonde le terrain à droite et à gauche. Je le fais en silence pour ne pas me faire couper l'herbe sous le pied. (16621)

This disenchanted chorus sounds only one discordant note, from editor 'S', who has worked for Radio-Canada only three months. He feels he has a lot to learn. Indeed he has.

Summary

I would like, very briefly, to gather together in this section, the points of similarity and contrast between the two FLU's. In the case of the newsroom - the "collapsed" FLU - All the employees are thrown in together. Action affecting both sides can be initiated and evaluated by one man. The producers, by contrast, are spatially spread out, and must be communicated with separately. This factor places added strain on Plante, who is incapable of responding forcefully.

The producers' supervisory cadre is aware of the cultural protection their men need, and they operate in an arena within which it is generally recognized that these claims are legitimate. The isolated news staff does not have this advantage. Higgins sees bilingualism as important only for the French. He is one of the very few who do not see it as important or desirable for the English in the Ottawa Area.

These two facts limit the kinds of reciprocity that can be worked among the English and French. Smith need never deal with Plante directly, thus reinforcing the actual power position in the newsroom. The producers have, in contrast, been able to illustrate their case more fully, and force the creation of special posts for their supervision. This must be due to the fact that they deal individually directly with their supervisors. Separated from the English,

they have been able to support each other enough to ward off much of the coercion of their unilingual superiors.

Such separation also enables the French supervisors to honour their own cultural criteria to protect, to reward and to punish their underlings. Thus, "being French" is a positive good in the production unit, but a handicap in the newsroom, where it is not only unrewarded, but punished. Higgins would feel that the same coverage, translated, would be more than adequate for the French network.

A third point of contrast between the two FLU's, is that of the nature and frequency of supervision. The newsroom staff is subject to constant and close supervision. The producers have a more diffuse kind of regulation. They are evaluated less frequently and given more latitude of expression.

I think, too, that production is seen as more important than local news reporting. The producers can trade upon this importance to gain privileges they consider crucial.

The last point of contrast is that of leadership. The French supervisors, generally, seem to be vigorous and capable people who feel a stake in their position only insofar as it can be used for cultural expression. They

are aware of their value outside the Ottawa Area or in the CBC. Plante, however, is very conscious of security, and hopes for a demotion to return to Montreal. He feels limited as to outside possibilities, despite the fact that he has as much education as any other French supervisor - and more than most.

These contrasts should be seen in light of the similarities of the two groups. Both are made up of young well educated men. Both have to wrestle with the problem of cultural bias. Both groups do not seek higher promotions in administration, but rather are rewarded by assignments and good work experience.

Conclusions

Formal considerations cannot do much to buttress the situation of the FLU. This is clearly shown in the news-room, one of the few places where linguistic rights are formally recognized. This kind of solution will not be considered in this report.

Another problem exists in generalizing from the CBC. The CBC is not amenable to rationalization in the same way that the Civil Service would be. The argument of the producers - unilinguals cannot judge their work - would fall on deaf ears within National Revenue. Do similar cultural biases exist within such departments? This is a question which deserves to be answered.

The FLU seems to depend upon a number of factors:

- (1) A commonly accepted legitimacy. Both French and English Canadians feel that most of the top "brass" should be bilingual in Ottawa Area at least. This means a general acceptance of this point on both sides of the CBC. This legitimacy must be created generally through any organization in which a FLU is introduced.
- (2) The FLU must be focussed upon an important function that cannot be bypassed. This will force the FLU to become integrated

with the rest of the organization while preventing it from becoming isolated by the environing structure. The basic tendency of splitting off, so evident among the producers, is checked by their dependence on the technicians and, to a lesser extent, Armstrong.

(3) The FLU must have the power to rationalize itself.

In this regard it must have a manipulative reward to use to maintain its cohesion around its upper echelons. Evidence exists that there are different styles of work amongst the English and the French, and these should be protected.

"Rationalization" is a coercive doctrine, which strives for standardization in the style and systems of work. There is no guarantee that it ensures "efficiency". The conception of rationalization invariably contains cultural biases with regard to the way of doing work, as well as the goals of that work. The FLU concept, then, requires a decentralization for its growth.

(4) In this connection, a FLU might be advantaged if it could recruit directly into itself. This would create an initial loyalty or obligation, and would help buttress it against cultural erosion.

(5) The FLU should include several ranks within it.

This is necessary to act both as a shock absorber for orders from above, and as a manipulation device to ensure conformity

within. Ideally a FLU should not be seen as 'having boundaries' at all. Rather, visualize it as a beam of light - highly concentrated, linguistically, at the centre with a gradual lessening of intensity on all sides.

(6) The FLU must be led, at least initially, by competent individuals that are willing to use power reciprocally. They must be willing to punish unilinguals that refuse to recognize their legitimacy, and reward those that accommodate to them.

(7) The FLU should be reasonably isolated from informal work contact with the English. This isolation should be strong enough to allow the leadership to reward behavior in terms of its own particular values and thus help to establish solidarity in the unit.

The hope that such units be made up of unilingual French employees should be abandoned as naive. The compulsion on career minded French Canadians to become bilingual will not be abated by this simple device. But there exists the possibility of the French building in a set of cultural buffers which will make bilingualism less threatening. It is this kind of cultural protection that is the primary concern of the French in the CBC. We have noted how biases can creep into the evaluations of the most fair-minded individuals.

Since the CBC deals in cultural products, and Civil Service departments are usually conceived in dealing in some other kind of product, one must consider the problem of generalizing from the CBC to the Civil Service generally.

At first blow, the Civil Service would seem to be dealing in highly routinized procedures. Rational bureaucracies systematize, as much as possible, the ways of doing things, and promote by the sole criterion of efficiency. A great deal of sociological work shows that this cultural definition does not correspond to actuality.

The usual way of viewing organizations is to see them divided into "formal" and "informal systems". The formal system is defined a "rational". This does not mean intelligent or even sane. As Wouk says of the navy, it is a system set up by geniuses to be run by idiots. Our cultural biases cause us to look at the "informal system" to trace down inefficiency, because, by the trick of juxtaposition, the informal must be irrational. The "irrational" is then overcome by reorganization, which usually disguises coercion.

If we examine the Civil Service through such culturally derived categories, we will fail to see beyond such simple dichotomies. We will fail to see that there is only one structure of relationship in a complex organization,

and that these are maintained by reciprocal agreements. This effective structure may or may not correspond to the charts on the walls of the President. In the CBC the effective decision-making structure involves Lefebvre, Armstrong and Bouchard. The Regional Director occupies a figurehead position. What power he has comes from Regional Broadcasting, not from Ottawa Area, and his influence over the structure below him can be countered.

If we want to increase the voice of French Canadians in the structure, we must find some way of grafting them onto the effective structure of the organization. In order to do this, they must have control of important areas of the bureaucracy, so that the set of decision-making relationships must take them into account. Reciprocity can develop on these terms, and cultural protection will be one of the terms of this reciprocity. No amount of formal reorganization that does not create such reciprocity with the de facto decision-making cliques will be very successful.

The process of generalizing from the CBC - a bureaucracy "producing" culture - to National Revenue, might seem strained. Indeed, it is fraught with danger. The argument that cultural biases do not appear within the Civil Service

would be difficult to refute. Yet discrimination does not seem a sufficient cause for the high degree of English domination of these structures. If discrimination exists, it is mechanical and more or less unconscious. The problem of language also seems causatively weak, considering the high degrees of bilingualism amongst the French. The most likely source of bias, it would seem to me, would lie in the area of expectations and styles of work, which are not incompatible, but which tend to disadvantage the French. Some evidence to this effect was presented earlier. The success of French Canadians with a high degree of exposure to English-Canadian culture through English higher educational institutions seems to bear this out. This kind of "bias" would be as important in National Revenue as in the CBC.

This analysis indicates that language is only the first line of a cultural defense. The development of FLU's might lead to greater separation of the two cultures, and weld that linguistic group that can best be described as "other Canadians" into an equally self-seeking unit. The Civil Service could become the arena of a muted form of ethnic warfare. French Canadians recognize bilingual English Canadians as their greatest threat, and their introduction could serve to inflame rather than passify. Thought should be given to this before attempting to cure one injustice with what may be another.

